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ABSTRACT

These two issues of a half-yearly journal for adult education cover Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Number 40 consists of 35 articles on 4 themes: Multicultural dimensions; environmental learning; cooperation and partnership with Eastern Europe; and women and training. Articles include: "It Is Time to Understand that the World Belongs to All of Us" (Mane); "The Bensheimer Kreis Demands: Give Priority to Fighting the Causes for Large Refugee Movement!"; "Western Man--A Master of Detail But Blind to the Whole" (Willamo); "A Critical View of Environmental Education" (von Sanden, Evia); "Polish and German Coexistence" (Samlowski); "Adult Education in the Process of Rebuilding the Economy" (Marcinkiewicz); and "Systematizing Gender-Based Interventions: The Mindanao Experience" (Polestico). Number 41 consists of 22 articles on 3 major themes: indigenous peoples and learning; development and community participation; and adult education and training. Articles include: "What Is a True Indigenous School?: Indigenous Societies of Brazil and Their Schools" (Grupioni, Ferreira); "Literacy, Language, and the International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples" (Brennan); "The Idiofa Peasant's Participation in Rural Development--A Lawsuit against the State" (Lowola); "To Collaborate in Order To Promote Laws in Rural Areas and Fight against Injustices"; (Mulunda, Ntashushwa); "What Brings about Changes in the Local Community" (Koineh); "Eradication of Illiteracy of Women and Girls in Vietnam" (Van); and "Expanding Training Delivery for Job Generation" (Gamerdinger). (YLB)

ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

DVV INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
GERMAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

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MULTICULTURAL DIMENSIONS

ENVIRONMENTAL LEARNING

COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP WITH EASTERN EUROPE

WOMEN AND TRAINING

OTHERS

40
1993

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ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

is a half-yearly journal for adult education in Africa, Asia and Latin America. At first, in 1973, the journal was intended by the German Adult Education Association (DVV) to help keep in touch with past participants in DVV further training seminars and to support the work of projects abroad. Today, the journal is a forum for dialogue and the exchange of information between adult educators and authors in Africa, Asia and Latin America, both among themselves and with colleagues in the industrialised nations. It is intended to disseminate and discuss new experiences and developments in the theory and practice of adult education. The main target group consists of adult educators working at so-called middle levels in teaching, organization or administration. Increasingly, staff in related fields such as health education, agriculture, vocational training, cooperative organizations etc. have been included, as their tasks are clearly adult education tasks. We also aim at adult educators at higher and top levels, academics, library staff and research institutions both in Africa, Asia and Latin America and in the industrialised nations.

We herewith invite adult educators from all parts of the world to contribute to this journal. Articles should bear a considerable reference to practice. All fields of adult education and development can be treated, i.e. adult education should be regarded in its widest sense. We kindly ask you to send us articles of about 1500 words; footnotes should be used as sparingly as possible.

Responsible for contents are the authors. Signed articles do not always represent the opinion of the German Adult Education Association. You are invited to reproduce and reprint the articles provided acknowledgement is given and a copy is sent to us.

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Editorial

The world has seen dramatic changes over the last few years. We try to look at some of them as challenges and opportunities in the context of adult education as they are all very important for our life as well as the development or our profession.

The multi-cultural dimensions of peoples' movements from one country to the other or even from one continent to the other have a great impact on learning needs and interests. Ethnic conflicts and hostility towards foreigners, especially poor foreigners, show that more and better education in this field is needed. Maybe some of the case studies presented can give some orientation. We invite colleagues to write about their experiences in subsequent issues.

We take up the environmental issue again as a follow-up to our special issue number 37 in the context of the outcome of the Rio Conference on Environment and Development. Many people say that we need more and more substantial changes in our lifestyle, especially in the richer countries, in order to survive. Environmental learning will help and support these changes, but cannot replace them.

The next section is again a follow-up to a previous issue of the journal. The last one carried as a major theme gender questions. Here are three case studies on women and training. We are on the look out for more reports and experiences for subsequent issues.

The new situation of the people and societies in Eastern Europe as well as their related learning and training needs require new forms and modes of international coooperation. We already presented in our last issue case studies on Poland and Estonia and a reflection on adult education for democracy. Here we provide an extensive follow-up in different dimensions: we start with a description of the context, contents, projects and partners in which we see the current work of the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association in respect to Eastern Europe. The cooperation between Poland and Germany is seen as a specific and very sensitive area which obviously is creating a new partnership. However, when you look at the table of contents than you will see several other interesting discussions and perspectives, including a look at the convergences and divergences between the work in the so-called South and East.

Finally, we print articles on prison education and an additional invitation to participate in the dialogue on the relationship of adult education and evaluation.

If you look at the cover of this issue than you will realize that this is number 40. This means that the journal now exists for 20 years. Time to say thank you again to all our readers, writers, supporters and those involved in the production process. This includes appreciation and thanks to the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development which funds this journal on a project basis.

Heribert Hinzen

ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

MULTICULTURAL DIMENSIONS

Albert Martin Mané criticises the past and present form of European-African dialogue and demands a dialogue between North and South, East and West based on acceptance and equality of the partners.
Dr. Albert Martin Mané is anthropologist from Casamance, Senegal; he has lived for more than ten years in Berlin. This article is a preprint of a publication on the theme of intercultural learning which will be appearing shortly by the Sociological Study Circle for International Problems (SSiP). The article appeared in the journal of the World Peace Service »Querbrief« 4/92.

Albert Martin Mané

It is time to understand that the world belongs to all of us: Problems of the European-African dialogue

One saying from my homecountry Senegal goes like this: »If a 'canari' (water jug) is full of holes, it needs every finger to make it watertight.« Our world is just like such a jug: broken and full of holes. If every one of us does not make the necessary contribution, then this world will perish.

Widening gap

The world is clearly falling more and more apart — regardless where one looks: world economy, culture or politics. Europe and Africa have developed into extreme poles; dialogue between the two appears to have become almost impossible. The systems have firmed into on the one hand, one of superiority and, on the other, one of subservience and a fatalistic submission to the inevitable — two systems which determine each other not only materially but also mentally — internalized in the heads of their members. Respective thoughts and feelings are stored by them and silently accepted, are not however publically admitted by either side. If discussed in intellectual circles, it usually remains an appeal without consequences.

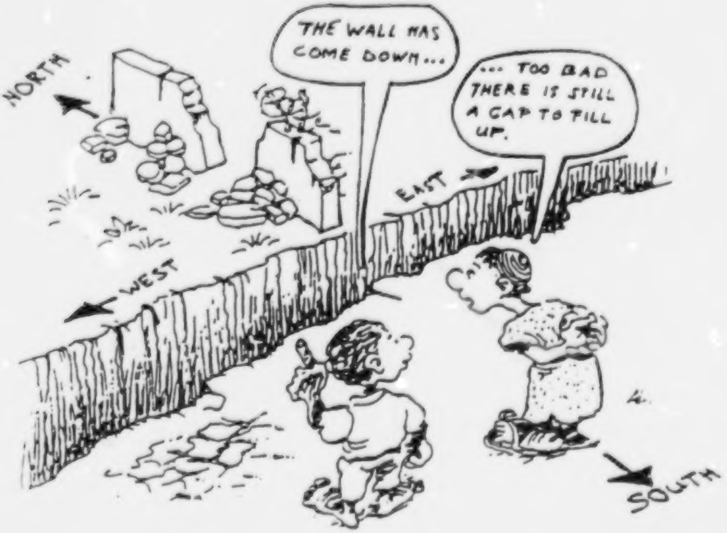
The areas are clear-cut:
Europe is responsible for material wellbeing, success, domination, discipline, intellect, systematics etc.

Africa stands for dance, music, sport, sexuality, emotion, spontaneity, poverty, hard labour etc.

Hitherto existing forms of »dialogue« as mock dynamite

What has been characterised as 'dialogue' up until now, was not allowed to question the above premises. This 'dialogue' exists only as long as

- Europe can be the big helper,
- paternalism exists,
- the basic system is not questioned,
- the old system of dependency remains.


NORTH
EAST
WEST
SOUTH
THE WALL HAS COME DOWN...
... TOO BAD THERE IS STILL A GAP TO FILL UP.

What we call 'dialogue' is in reality none at all: the systems themselves are not touched. To have an African friend is deemed fashionable in many circles: he is so charming, helpful and original...

Europe and North America defend themselves and their privileges against the rest of the world. They build their strongholds and refuse to be measured by the standards which they set for other countries.

The black population has an image of incapability everywhere in the world. In the USA the Asian immigrants have achieved, in line with their intentions, social advancement and overtaken the black population. The latter seem to be prisoners of their own conviction of inferiority which makes them incapable of breaking out of the vicious circle of oppression. The gap described cannot be clearly outlined (geographically) however. African society itself is divided:

the elite defend European interests hoping thereby to secure their own privileges (bank account in Switzerland, school education for their children in Europe or the USA etc.) and to set up absurd monuments in honour of themselves (small St. Peters in the African jungle!).

Since the end of the East/West conflict there is also a gulf within Europe. The former GDR plays the role of the South for Germany: the paternalist West stands vis-à-vis the dependent East which refuses to show gratitude for help received... Within Western societies, too, this dichotomy can be found between the social classes and between men and women. The enfringement of the elderly and children is a further symptom for social devaluation as also expressed in the diminishing status of the family.

The Europeans urgently require challenge through serious dialogue partners — they need us Africans!

Problems of the dialogue from the African side

Couldn't Africa simply open itself to dialogue? Our experience has taught us the contrary: Whenever we have opened the way for encounters with Europeans, we have been cheated, robbed of our cultural values and oppressed. Our religious relics are still found in European museums today; the knowledge of our healers was condemned as heathen by white missionaries, our history contested (wasn't it said that Africa is a continent without history?). Today it is still accepted that our mythology and culture are ruthlessly pulled apart by European ethnologists. If they would only treat their own culture in such a manner!

„Es ist leichter, einen Atomkern zu spalten als ein Vorurteil."

»It's easier to split an atom than a prejudice!«

Future perspectives

In earlier times just as today Africa was and is measured against a distorted picture of Europe. It is therefore still a question of combatting the causes which prevent genuine dialogue at all levels. The three roots at individual level are: avarice, delusion and anger.

As long as people are unable to fight these vices, we will continue to talk past one another — and to live past one another.

Greed, taking without showing consideration for one's fellow being, seem to becoming more and more prevalent. One gulps down everything without reflecting. It is a hunger which is driven by something other than a physical hunger; a hunger for recognition, confirmation, nearness — at the same time fear of this nearness. To avoid being deserted, one deserts the other; to avoid being hurt, one hurts the other... problems develop and are expressed in addictions and reactions of obstinacy. Partners are treated like objects and are made into possessions; an exchange of emotions does not take place very often.

Behind all of this is the spiritual hunger for fulfillment, for mental and physical equilibrium which each one of us seeks, consciously or unconsciously. If this search ensues in the wrong place, that is, through substitute actions then the person is blinded by his anger and discontent, his loneliness and intolerance which expresses itself in a lack of responsibility as well as indifference towards others.

In his blindness he will perceive only the things which confirm his own vision instead of taking up true contact with people. Even as an adult he still makes his parents responsible for failure in early childhood; the diary contains information on conflicts which are not settled with the persons concerned; the psychologist has had to take on the role of the priest without being able to fulfill the spiritual needs.

I am convinced that dialogue requires openness for the opinion of others. Such openness is linked to a state of equilibrium. This means, that a person who has found his equilibrium is open to his fellowmen. He who practises self-respect does not need to treat others with contempt.

In Germany the discussion on changes to asylum legislation is very controversial. In the context of this discussion the Bensheimer Kreis makes the following appeal to the Federal Government and Parliament.
The Bensheimer Kreis is a union of more than 30 organisations of development-related cooperation; the Institute for International Cooperation is an active member.

The Bensheimer Kreis demands:

Give priority to fighting the causes for large refugee movement!

The 1993 General Meeting of the Bensheimer Kreis supports the appeal of GERMANWATCH on the subject of asylum to the Federal Government and Parliament. It particularly welcomes the fundamental line of this appeal of not being able to separate the present foreigner and asylum debate from the causes of a large refugee movement from South to North and from East to West. The following passages from the GERMANWATCH Resolution underline this link clearly:

- Underdevelopment, war, poverty and environmental destruction have become the most significant reasons for growing refugee numbers. After this come violation of human rights and torture as reasons for fleeing one's country. This particularly applies to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America but also in the meantime to countries of Central and Eastern Europe. If no attempt is made to fight poverty, there will be no chance of success for a more tolerable population development, for protection of the natural environment and against growing streams of refugees. Numerous developing countries, above all in Africa, find themselves economically and ecologically »free falling« at present.

- Global conditions are very much comparable to conditions under apartheid in South Africa where a minority has likewise attempted to organise the future at the cost of the majority of the population. Yet whereas in South Africa a process for overcoming apartheid — partly at national level — has been introduced, nothing has been undertaken world-wide. If global apartheid is not overcome, there will be no true perspective for mankind.

- With the cessation of the East-West conflict, the chance for a non-ideological analysis of the situation of all people on this earth arises for the very first time.

- The future perspective for the poor countries is dramatic. Whilst the rich nations are becoming richer, the poorer countries are becoming poorer. Already the rich nations consume 85% of the wood, 75% of the metals, 70% of the energy and 60% of the food. In 1960 the 20% of the world population living in countries with the highest per capita income, were 30 times better off than the 20% at the other end of the scale. By 1989 this disparity had almost doubled so that the upper 20% were 60 times better off than the lower 20%.

- Increased oil prices and interest rates, flight of capital and debt service, trade barriers and poor commodity prices cost the developing countries, according to UNO calculations, approximately 200 billion dollars annually. Compared to this, international development aid amounts to only 50 billion dollars. The South thus finances the North and not the other way round as many still think.

- The problems become more acute through the fact that every attempt to extend the extravagant lifestyle of the industrial countries of the North to all people would far exceed the limits and resources of our planet. All scientific studies at hand show that the model of energy and commodity waste is not transferable to 6 billion people, i.e. 8 billion people in the near future. Irreplacable reserves would be destroyed for ever. A political act of strength at a global level now lies ahead of us: In order to put a stop to the destruction of Man's future, poverty and waste have to be jointly tackled on a global scale through sharing. Mankind has never before been confronted with such a challenge.

- Even if development aid cannot solve the rich-poor conflict, as single, concrete contribution for the victims of unjust international economic structures, it has an important function as yardstick for ascertaining the truth of so many claims to solidarity and partnerhsip.

- Development policy should also press for reforms in South and East. Corrupt regimes which ignore fundamental political, cultural, social, legal, economic and ecological human rights and which damage their economy through huge military ex-

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penditure, contribute considerably to the misery in developing countries. As a result help should only be granted to these countries lacking in democracy and human rights, if it can be proven that visible progress is being made in these areas. This also includes dramatic reduction in e.g. weapon exports and toxic waste exports etc.

- Politics and the general public have to give greater political priority to global development policy, their own development targets included. Many politicians and citizens are now convinced that the causes have to be fought yet they generally think here of conditions in the South and East. Neither the politicians nor we ourselves show willingness to e.g. alter our own consumer habits or to change methods of production.

The Bensheimer Kreis makes an urgent appeal to the Federal Government and the political parties respresented in the German Parliament, to press for fundmental changes in the industrialised and developing countries in the handling of the rights of foreigners and the right of asylum which would help to reduce the above-mentioned reasons for large refugee movement as quickly as possible. These efforts have to complement strong measures to protect the human dignity and the physical and mental wellbeing of the immigrants and refugees living in Germany. This particularly applies to women who in many parts of the world are still being oppressed on the grounds of their sex and who have fled their countries for this reason. The Bensheimer Kreis also appeals to the German public to not overlook the fact that the main burden of refugees who come under the mandate of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) is borne by the countries in the South. Only 10% of the refugees seeking protection from war, civil war and persecution live in the Western industrialised countries (including USA and Canada). The total number world-wide is estimated at 18 million people. In addition to this, there are 20 million people on the run in their own countries.

Measures to fight the causes for this large refugee movement should not aim, for racist or xenophobic reasons, at closing Germany's doors.

GATE. No. 1/93.
Solid Waste Management. Questions — answers — information
GATE is the quarterly published by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). In the field of waste management, the GTZ is trying to help its partners avoid the mistakes of the affluent societies in the North. As the projects show, building awareness at community level of the need for waste management is a lengthy process. However, the authors of our Focus articles have some encouraging initial sucesses to report.
The journal is available from:
German Agency for Technical Cooperation, P.O. Box 5180,
Dag-Hammarskjöld-Weg 1, 65760 Eschborn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Vohipeno, Madagascar

Based on her own experiences, Dr. Veronika Fischer describes in her article methods and ways of intercultural learning; she sees intercultural learning as an interdisciplinary principle.
Dr. Fischer is a staff member of the Volkshochschule in Oberhausen. The Volkshochschulen are the local adult education centres which are found in all cities and all larger towns throughout Germany. All of them are members of the sixteen state-level regional adult education associations which comprise the German Adult Education Association/DVV. This article is a reprint from the journal VOLKSHOCHSCHULE IV, 1992.

Veronika Fischer

From target group work to intercultural education

Key theme: Integration of foreigners — Multicultural projects

Georg Auernheimer establishes in an international comparison of intercultural education concepts (in his »Introduction to Intercultural Education«), various congruencies: »... first of all reducing problems to the provisions of language and the promotion of learning a second language, then the broadened view of changed family structures and family conflicts and the necessary assistance; finally thoughts on bicultural identity development« (Auernheimer 1990, p. 23). Parallel to this — although not at the same time — a similar process took place in adult education. First the establishment of courses »German as a foreign language«, then the development of an interdisciplinary target group work which took up the needs and interests of foreign participants through socio-educational oriented programmes and finally the provision of intercultural education.

The first and second phase of the work with foreigners in the 1960s and 70s focussed on providing information on the expectations of the host country, the Federal Republic of Germany.

It was deemed necessary to show the migrants how to adjust to the economic, political and social conditions of the country providing entry. This approach was based on the deficits and problems of the newcomers (language barriers, information deficit, orientation difficulties) and thus had manifold compensatory tasks. One approached the foreign population as an underpriviledged group whose professional and social integration had to be supported by educational »measures«. Critics advanced against this one-dimensional view which made the ethnic community feel obliged to adjust to the social system, the opinion that the system itself should change to a more open structure »enabling people of differing social and cultural origin, of differing age and sex to live together peacefully and without fear of discrimination and rejection« (Schneider-Wohlfahrt 1990, p. 39). At the same time this formulated the assignment of tasks for intercultural learning. Apart from the classical work with foreigners which is directed at the mediation of linguistic competence and a basic knowledge of how to cope with elementary everyday situations, it is the duty of further education as a whole, to acquaint adults with life in a society where people of differing cultural origin live together — which, in turn, is connected to experiencing moments of uncertainty, irritation and feeling alien.

Making intercultural learning a principle which permeats the whole of adult education is of particular significance when seen against the background of worldwide migration, the European process of unity, supranational agreements, increasing tourism and internationalisation of labour markets. The following therefore presents the different variants and educational areas of intercultural learning.

Intercultural learning as interdisciplinary principle

Intercultural learning should not be limited to one subject area as e.g. work with foreigners but be integrated in all areas possible. A course which compares American Indian pottery with modern techniques is just as imaginable as a course on the theme ecology which depicts the international value of programmes on pollutant reduction.

Intercultural learning as didactical principle

A thoughtful approach to the feeling of »being alien«, the practising of tolerance, the comparison of one's own norms, values, behaviour patterns with the value and behaviour codes of other ethnic groups, showing solidarity with minorities, the practising of forms of rational conciliation — all this can be an integral part of intercultural learning processes at different levels and in different fields of knowledge.

Intercultural learning as critically comparative »Landeskunde«

This form of intercultural learning can be applied e.g. in the teaching of foreign languages. Here however the present »Landeskunde« approach of purely providing information on the country of the target language should be replaced by a comparative »Landeskunde« which includes the opinion of the learner and his/her cultural standards.

Intercultural learning in the encounter with foreigners

Here long-standing target group work with foreign participants could open up opportunities for social encounters between Germans and foreigners where experiences can be exchanged and discussion take place. At the Volkshochschule Oberhausen this is presently taking place in a German-Italian conversation circle made up of participants from a former Italian conversation class and members of the Sardinian culture centre who discuss, in Italian, self-elected topics.

Intercultural learning in political education

Political education is devoted, in this context, to providing

- information on the countries of origin of the minorities resident here
- an explanation of the causes and consequences of world-wide migration as based on political developments
- an analysis of the roots of racism and hostility towards foreigners.

Intercultural learning in cultural work

The Volkshochschule should be a place where foreign minorities in the community can project a cultural image of themselves in the areas of dance, music, fine arts, theatre etc; it would thus, at the same time, give Germans the chance to get to know other cultural forms of expression, to compare and to interrelate (e.g. joint exhibitions by artists from different countries).

Intercultural learning in target group work

Based on common interests and needs, work with Germans and foreigners in the area of women's education, senior citizens' education and family education is considered desirable.

This plea for intercultural education work should not evoke the impression that target group work with foreigners has lost its relevance. On the basis of world-wide migration movements there will always be new immigrants who will require at least a basic programme of German language courses and information on their new country of residence. Apart from this it would be worthwhile investigating to what extent e.g. important topics in ecology, health and senior citizen education should be developed for foreigners on a target group basis. This does not free us however from taking a critical look at our work up until now, and if possible, of expanding it with forms of intercultural learning.

Literature:

Georg Auernheimer, Einführung in die interkulturelle Erziehung, Darmstadt, 1990
U. Schneider-Wohlfahrt u.a., Fremdheit überwinden. Theorie und Praxis des interkulturelles Lernens in der Erwachsenenbildung, Opladen, 1990.

We had planned to make multi-cultural education a theme of our journal some time ago. Even then we were shocked by the outbursts of hostility and acts of violence against foreigners in Germany — and in other parts of this One World. We asked ourselves: What does all this mean for adult education, what can we do and what should we do? We didn't in our wildest dreams think however that we would one day be confronted with such an escalation of arson and attempted murder, as has taken place in all parts of the Federal Republic in the last few weeks.

In this situation numerous statements of solidarity have been voiced by the Volkshochschulen. We have selected two here: a letter from the Chairman of the German Adult Education Association to the Turkish Ambassador in Bonn, Onur Oymen, as well as his reply and a resolution expressing the opinion of full-time staff members of the Volkshochschulen.

Dear Ambassador,

With feelings of anger and shame, we learnt of the cowardly murders of Turkish women and children living here in Germany. At this sad time, we would like to inform you, Excellency, that your countrymen and women are not alone in Germany but that they have numerous friends and partners here, including the German 'Volkshochschulen'.

We do not want to limit our reaction to these terrible events in our country to words of condolence. We would like to act to the best of our possibilities. The more than one thousand 'Volkshochschulen' throughout Germany will increase their intercultural work. In our courses and working groups, foreigners and Germans meet up to learn together. We will have to intensify this work. More joint political and cultural events should take place; we would like to enlighten the public through educational work; we will cultivate the many friendships and partnerships in the areas of education and culture. We will also have to find ways of acting jointly to *check right-wing extremism and intolerance. We will make an urgent plea to the 'Volkshochschulen' in all German states to prepare and carry out relevant programmes and activities. Public funds should be made available for this purpose.*

The staff members of the German 'Volkshochschulen' would like to express their support at this difficult time.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)
Heinz Theodor Jüchter

Dear Herr Jüchter,

I would like to thank you for your friendly letter in which you express your sympathy for the murders committed in Solingen.

I am convinced that these unfortunate developments will be rectified and that Turkish-German relations, deeply rooted in history, will stand the test.

Yours sincerely

(signed)
Dr. Onur Oymen
Ambassador

We, the participants of the 12th Conference for Languages* in Bad Bevensen (2 - 4 June 1993) are shocked and dismayed at the never-ending chain of racist attacks on foreign citizens in all parts of the Federal Republic, particularly that of Solingen. We extend our sympathy to the victims and families and our solidarity to those still threatened.

- We oppose every form of agitation, discrimination and hostility against foreigners;
- We are not prepared to accept the fact that right-wing extremist terror is spreading in Germany and victimising minorities;
- We have been living, learning and working together with people from other nations for decades. We fully support this and regard it as an enrichment to our lives and our duty.

The 'Volkshochschulen', which stand in the tradition of enlightenment, see in this development a challenge for our democratic society and emphasize their committment to standing up for humanity, liberalism and tolerance in their work.

* a conference for language department heads of the 'Volkshochschulen' which takes place every two years.

Hostility towards foreigners and acts of violence against asylum seekers and foreign migrants reached a dramatic climax in autumn 1992. Apart from protection provided by the state and citizens, educational institutions in particular have an important role to play here. The German Volkshochschulen have already initiated numerous activities. The Pedagogical Institute of the German Adult Education Association (PAS) has produced a package of material on the subject which includes, in the form of a brochure and a cassette, named »All people are foreigners, somewhere«, the following fairy tale. Those interested further should please contact the Pedagogical Institute of the DVV (PAS), Holzhausenstraße 21, 60322 Frankfurt/M, Federal Republic of Germany.

Helmut Wöllenstein

Christmas: The story of the exodus of all »foreigners«

»*Once upon a time...*«, is how our story of »Those who fled because they were afraid« begins.

Once upon a time, it was night time, some three days before Christmas. Three men walked slowly across the market square of a small, German town. They stopped briefly in front of the church and sprayed »Foreigners, go home!« and »Germany is for the Germans« on the wall. Stones flew through the window of the Turkish shop opposite the church. Then, the group moved on. And there was an eerie silence. The curtains at the windows of the honourable citizens closed quickly and discreetly.

No-one had seen a thing.

»Come on. That's it. Let's go.«
»What do you mean? What on earth would we do down in the south?«
»Down in the south? Have you forgotten that that is where our home is? It'll only get worse here. We'll do what it says on the wall: 'Foreigners, go home!'«

And, believe it or not, the little town came alive in the middle of the night: first came the packets of cocoa, the chocolates and sweets in their Christmas wrappings. They wanted to return to West Africa and to Ghana, because that was where their home was. Then came the coffee, the Germans' favourite drink, in great chests and bags; to Uganda, Kenya and South America, back to the home of coffee. Pineapples and bananas leapt fearfully from their crates, and so did the grapes and strawberries from South Africa. Almost all the Christmas goodies were on the move: gingerbread, speculatius and cinnamon biscuits, their spicy hearts drawing them back to India. The Dresden Christmas cake hesitated. You could see tears in his raisin eyes as he admitted: Half-castes like me have a really tough time. He was followed by Lübeck marzipan and Nuremberg gingerbread. It wasn't quality but place of origin which counted. But it wasn't until shortly before dawn that the cut flowers from Columbia finally began their homeward trek, just as the fur coats together with the gold and precious stones boarded their expensive charter aircraft with destinations throughout the world.

On that day there was complete traffic chaos. Long traffic jams of Japanese cars full to the brim with cameras, optical equipment, hi-fis and electronics as they slowly wended their way towards the east. High in the sky could be seen the Christmas geese returning to Poland, followed closely by fine, silk shirts and carpets from the Far East.

With a terrifying cracking sound, tropical timber broke loose from the imprisonment of the window frames and swished its way back to the valleys of the Amazon. You had to take great care not to slip, for there was oil and petrol seeping from everywhere, mere trickles joining forces to form streams for the journey back to the Near East. But plans had been made for everything.

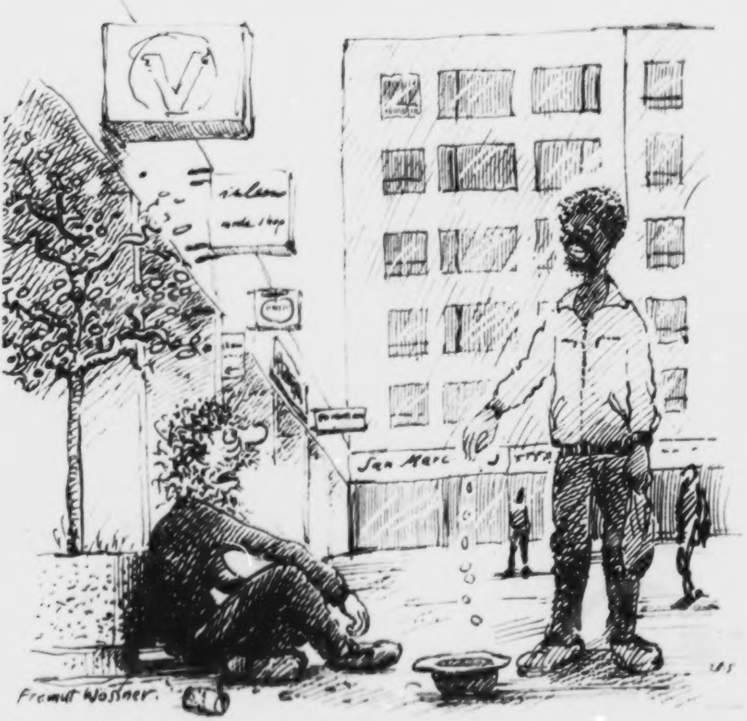
Proud as proud could be, the German car industry revealed its emergency plans: a brilliant, new version of the wood-fire carburettor. Who needs foreign oil? — But the VW's and the BMW's began to fall apart into their component parts: the aluminium returned to Jamaica, the copper to Somalia, one third of the steel components to Brazil, and the rubber went back to Zaire. And the road surface had also seen better days when it was covered in foreign asphalt.

Three days later, it was all over. The exodus was complete. And just in time for Christmas. Not a foreign thing left in the whole of the country. But there were still Christmas trees, and apples, and nuts. And »Silent Night« could be sung — admittedly with special permission, as the song had originally come from Austria.

There was only one thing which did not quite fit the picture. Mary, Joseph and the infant Jesus had stayed on. Three Jews. Just imagine, three Jews.

»We're staying«, said Mary, *»if we leave, who on earth is going to show them the way back again, the way back to reason, common sense and humanity?«*

Everyday Life in a Multi-cultural Society


V
San Marc
Fremut Wossner.
" WHAT A CHEEK! WHO DO YOU THINK YOU ARE?! "

This article is concerned with convincing broader groups of adults that the »foreign« element is not threatening and that we can learn from the rich diversity of other cultures. Popular recreational activities such as pottery and weaving are linked at the German Volkshochschulen, in the form of African pottery and Indian weaving and other craft techniques, to background information on the countries concerned.

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Rolf Niemann

Experiences with cultural and development education work at the Volkshochschulen

The subject area Africa, Asia and Latin America is assuming — with differing emphases — an increasingly important position in German adult education. Since 1977 the German Adult Education Association has been providing substantial support for approaches in intercultural learning through the Institute for International Cooperation. In cooperation with the regional assocations of the Volkshochschulen numerous training seminars for full-time and part-time course instructors have taken place. Through the publication of a book series, respectively journal series — accessible beyond the Volkshochschule — learning material for educational work with adults has been developed. The national association has provided, and still provides, an advisory service for course proposals on the »Third World«.

An important principle of this development education was the interdisciplinary approach. Knowledge of foreign cultures and the promotion of a partnership relation between Germany and people in Africa, Asia and Latin America are a must for learning and acting in our society to secure a peaceful coexistence of peoples in different social and ethnic structures. The international integration of cultures, nations and societies of extreme heterogeneous origin, kind, structure and understanding of fundamental human values respresents an enormous challenge. In our educational work we have to examine the phenomena stereotyping, stigmatisation, discrimination and prejudice towards foreigners. Intercultural communication and intercultural learning should effect, apart from international orientation, tangible advantages for coming to terms with one's own life in our society.

It is to be feared that the political and economic processes of integration in Europe and German unity will reinforce world-wide inequality and at the same time reduce interest in finding solutions for social conflicts which are intensifying. This international constellation and the resulting consequences for our society could lead to a feeling of insecurity among many people regarding their economic and social perspectives and increase the present trends of hostility towards foreigners and racism. Aim of educational efforts, particularly when directed towards adults, can only be to make the participants capable of living and surviving in our world and of coping with changed living conditions. This leads, in the realisation of our objective, to people learning to perceive, accept and absorb in their own actions the needs and interests of other cultures and nations in such a differentiated manner that this understanding leads to an intercultural understanding and ultimately to political awareness which has very practical consequences: openness towards foreign cultures, solidarity with other population groups, respect for different ways of life, assistance for foreign guests, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers; enrichment with respect to social intercourse with one another, celebrating festivities, cooking and eating together, indulging in foreign music and dance, acceptance of art from the »Third World« beyond the folkloric, naive aspect and much more.

This development education work tends to lead to intercultural understanding being linked to a change in cultural identity. The absorbing of significant elements from different cultures can enrich one's own personality. Thus intercultural learning opens the way for intercultural understanding and for the development of a multicultural identity or cultural universality. The realisation of such a »third cultural mind« or a »world identity« goes hand in hand with an identification with values and norms which do not belong to one culture alone but which embrace several cultures.

Practical realisation

Several evaluations of development education work at the Volkshochschulen have revealed that on the one hand the total provision has doubled in the last ten years and on the other hand that the »Third World« provision in the area political education has either remained the same or has declined. The Department for International Cooperation has taken a look at the existing courses at the Volkshochschulen and then posed the question as to the extent to which they could be developed for an intercultural learning approach. From the broad range of arts and crafts, a number of courses are offered which enjoy continuing popularity with the public: pottery, weaving, batik, cooking, yoga, music and dance.

These courses, primarily seen as recreational activities, for example in cultural education, do not exist in a vacuum but are anchored in their social surroundings. In order to meet the demands of an adult education which assumes the maturity of the learner, these arts and crafts courses are also bound to conform to the general educational task and the objectives of the Volkshochschulen.

The Department wanted to reach broader sections of the population and potential Volkshochschule participants who are actually not at all interested in the situation of people in the countries of the »Third World«. It was established in the area of craft techniques that understanding for a foreign culture develops, for example, when a master craftswoman in weaving recognises that »if the Indios master such complex and beautiful weaving techniques — then I have great respect for them«. The Department has organised, in conjunction with different regional associations of the Volkshochschulen, staff seminars on the subjects »Pottery in Africa and with the Pueblos«, »Batik and Ikat in Indonesia« and »Weaving of the Indios in Latin America« for instructors of craft courses. Aim of these seminars was to provide information on the socio-cultural background and the historical development of these techniques through the teaching and trying out of new craft skills. In this way the attempt was made to link aspects of the problem complex »Third World« with Volkshochschule courses in the area of arts and crafts. Learning and practising handicraft techniques from the »Third World« should motivate course participants to take a closer look at the problems which confront the people in these countries.

Derogatory comments on pottery, ceramic or weaving courses can even be heard in Volkshochschule circles themselves. The prejudice-laden comparison Volkshochschule = pottery and batik has still not been completely overcome. Statistics show that numerous courses in the area of arts and crafts do indeed take place at the Volkshochschulen. It is therefore all the more important to pad out and upgrade the content of these image-determining courses.

Working group meeting of a training seminar for course instructors.

Experiences of course instructors and also those of participants have shown that the inclusion of development topics and questions from the culture and society of the »Third World« has given a considerable boost to the reputation of the courses and the ego of those who direct them and learn in them. The meaningless production of ceramics was, for example, replaced by an activity-related analysis of one's own creative and duplicating productivity as well as the cultural and social background.

Pottery is an archaic cultural technique which humans have mastered for millenia. Our knowledge of the way of life of people in bygone civilisations of Africa, Asia, America and here in Europe is based chiefly on the heritage from the pottery trade. In the absence of direct communication, earthenware vessels and ceramics can tell us about life in bygone cultures. The Department has thus organised staff seminars and developed materials to convince course instructors to place their pottery courses in a broader context. Information on the pottery craft, functional ceramics and the social background of pottery in the »Third World« are integrated in the practical, manual course work. Music and pictures from the relevant countries have also benefitted participants as a didactic learning aid.

Batik is a textile technique which reached its mastership, as far as refinement of method and design of forms are concerned, in Java. Technical details of production as well as the large number of patterns stem from the social and cultural background of this Southeast Asian island nation. Background information on the lifestyle of the people in Indonesia is conveyed by means of authentic texts and slide series.

On their retreat from the Spanish conquistadors, the Indio communities settled in the Andean highlands of South America where they have been able to preserve their identity through traditional forms of weaving. From winning the wool to marketing of the products, **weaving** enables the Indios to maintain their ethnic autonomy and forms the basis of their economic survival. In seminars, participants are introduced to the traditional weaving techniques and patterns of the various ethnic groups of South America. Not only the beauty of the Indio products but also the complexity of certain weaving patterns arouse great interest and admiration for the environment of the people who produce these things. The enthusiasm commonly experienced here for the life of the Indios is relativised when the difficulties and struggles of these communities in an administratively and climatically hostile environment become evident.

In the domestic science courses too, such as foreign **cooking**, it is possible to obtain information, through the preparation of food, on specific foodstuffs and ingredients as well as on the culinary culture of other ethnic groups. The preparation of food also enables us to bring the »Third World« into our homes and to show understanding for the situation in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In cooking »exotic« dishes we smell interesting, foreign cultures, can get to know more about the everyday life of the people and can refute many a prejudice about »uncivilised savages«. Learning therefore takes place not only via the head but also via the stomach. Additionally, the link between our eating habits and the ecological problems as well as the misery of the »Third World« can be experienced without the pedagogical finger of the ascetic being raised.

A further approach was »Latin America in Spanish courses« for which authentic Spanish language material from Latin America was prepared, used in staff seminars and produced as educational material for the purpose of **spanish language teaching**. Particularly in view of the festivities planned for the occasion of »500 Years of the Discovery of America«, it was necessary to obtain authentic voices from Latin America for the controversial discussion »1942 - 1992«. For English, French and Portuguese language courses, fables and songs from Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as general information on these countries are available in each individual language.

Further intercultural approaches were yoga and tai chi; these relaxation techniques have a great deal to do with intellectual history, philosophy, religion, medicine, culture, art and daily life in India, respectively China.

Music and dance workshops related to the culture of the »Third World« round off the wide range of intercultural courses in adult education.

Methodical aspects

In all the approaches in development education work described here, the primary aim was the authentic access to the countries of the »Third World«: Whilst craft techniques or other cultural forms of expression were duplicated, participants of courses gained direct access to a foreign culture. In reflecting on what had been learnt, references to life's reality were automatically established.

This experience was backed by means of a food questionnaire »What did I eat yesterday?« which provided information on the origin of the food items, conditions of production, energy consumption, pollutants and the degree of handling. The categories were completed by the participants themselves and in the working groups further discussion was stimulated by the following questions:

1. Which food items are — on the basis of their composition — essential for life, or which are superfluous and purely luxury foods?
2. What can we do without?
3. Under what conditions do the people live who cultivate, harvest etc. the food for us?
4. Which food commodities would cease to reach us without imports from the »Third World«, or, if we had to rely on our self-cultivated food produce, what would remain?

In this context attention can be drawn to the very communicative element of preparing food together according to a recipe from the countries.

Another didactic medium is, for example, the graphic representation »The price of the banana« with data on what part of the profit remains in the producer country and how much is made by the foreign firms.

Objects and music from the relevant country quickly create an intimate atmosphere and an emotional link to the people of these countries.

This is backed by slide shows which the Departement makes available to the regional associations of the Volkshochschulen free of charge. The accompanying texts provide stimulation for questions; the basic information provided by the slides can be supplemented by additional information on the part of the course instructor. Documentary or feature films which arouse interest in the country and visually reinforce the information absorbed, support the media package.

Furthermore, fables and stories from the relevant countries help to bring us closer to the feelings and thoughts of the people. Sometimes it is possible to attend a theatre performance from that country. An additional possibility is a joint visit to an exhibition or a museum of ethnology with exhibits from countries of the »Third World«.

In conclusion I would like to point out that today a great selection of information on the people and life in the countries of the »Third World« is available. Often there is a lack of interest or a concrete reason for taking a closer look at the values of foreign cultures. Through the intercultural forms of teaching and learning the senses of the learner are addressed in a manifold way. They are taken seriously when perhaps only partial interest exists and are led to further aspects and finally experience an all-embracing mental outlook. The willingness to understand the otherness of foreign people is at the same time a contribution to inner and outer peace.

Preparation of food to celebrate the inauguration of the water reservoir and the community hall in Ambolokoy, Madagascar

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

As a result of its history, the population of Singapore is made up of many nationalities. What measures are adopted by the Government to attain and preserve peaceful coexistence and thus political stability, taking into account the various national identities; what scope do NGO organisations have; what role does adult education play here? The author takes a look at these questions in the following article.

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Lim Hoy Pick

Singaporean multi-cultural society — Opening or obstacle for non-governmental civic activities

History

Singapore is situated at the southern tip of Peninsular Malaysia and at the crossroads of Southeast Asia. The island of Singapore has a total land area of about 600 sq.km. In the early 19th century, it was ruled by the Sultan of Johor. In January 1819, Stamford Raffles (then British Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen) landed on Singapore and soon turned it into a profitable trading station. Eventually, the island was ceded to the British in 1824. It remained a British colony until it attained internal self-government in 1959. In 1963, it merged with the Federation of Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak to form Malaysia. Two years later, because of different political thinking between the leaders of Malaysia and Singapore, it separated from Malaysia and became a fully independent and sovereign state on 9th August 1965.

Constitution

Singapore is a republic with a parliamentary system of government. Its Constitution provides for a President as Head of State, elected by Parliament every four years. Power is vested in the Prime Minister and his cabinet ministers who are responsible collectively to Parliament. Recently, the Constitution has been amended to provide for an Elected President with veto powers in matters concerning the use of national reserves and appointment of key government officials. It has been pointed out that the need for such protection is crucial since Singapore's official reserves increased from US$ 30.4 billion in 1987 to US$ 33.2 billion in 1988.

The Constitution also provides for a Presidential Council for Minority Rights whose function is to consider and report on matters affecting persons of any racial or religious community in Singapore. Another function of the Council is to draw attention to any bill or subsidiary legislation which discriminates against any racial or religious community.

Politics

There are 21 registered political parties in Singapore, including the ruling party, the People's Action Party (PAP). The PAP has been in power since 1959, having won 8 general elections in succession. In the last general election in 1988, it won 80 out of a total of 81 seats, polling 61.76 per cent of the total votes.

To ensure the multi-racial character of Parliament, a Group Representation Constituency (GRC) scheme was introduced in the 1988 general election. Under this GRC scheme, candidates for GRCs, including independents have to run and be elected as a group. The team that wins the most votes takes all the seats for the constituency. Each GRC team is required to include at least one candidate from a minority community.

In recent years, the government has promoted greater consultation with the people through Feedback Unit forums and Select Committee hearings. Several Advisory Councils have been formed and members of the public are invited to sit on these councils rendering advice to government ministries. Various Government Parliamentary Committees have been formed to seek public views on national issues. More recently, the government introduced a scheme of Nominated Members of Parliament to give independent, non--partisan views a voice in Parliament. Todate two NMPs have been nominated. In short, the new generation of political leaders have adopted a more consultative style of government.

Economy

Singapore has scarcely any natural resources. All essential foods and water are imported. The only advantage Singapore has is its excellent geographical location with very good natural harbours. For decades it depended entirely on entrepot trade and commerce which had, until 1960, been responsible for its prosperity. Since the 1960s, it has begun to develop a broad-based economy, spearheaded by an ambitious industrialisation programme. From 1987 to 1989, the economy grew by more than 9 per cent. Last year the economic growth was 8.5 per cent. The present national income per capita is around US$ 12,700. That is why Singapore is known as one of the »Four Tigers« of Asia.

Main economic activities include banking and finance, trading, shipping, manufacturing, ship building and repairing, aerospace industries, construction, telecommunications and tourism. Today Singapore is the busiest seaport in the world.

Multi-cultural society

In May 1990, Singapore had a population of slightly over 3 million composed of 77.7 per cent Chinese, 14.1 per cent Malays, 7.1 per cent Indians and 1.1 per cent others.

There are four official languages, namely, Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English. Malay is the National Language and English the language of administration. English is also the main medium of instruction in all schools and tertiary education institutions. The general literacy rate of the population aged 10 years and above was 80.1 per cent in 1990.

The major religions in Singapore are Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism. The Constitution guarantees freedom of worship for all Singaporeans. According to the 1990 census, 53.9 per cent of the population aged 10 years and above were Buddhists and Taoists, 15.4 per cent Muslims, 12.6 per cent Christians and 3.6 per cent Hindus. The majority of Buddhists and Taoists are Chinese. Nearly all Malays are Muslims. Almost all Hindus are Indians. Of the Christians, 79 per cent are Chinese, 8 per cent Indians and the rest Eurasians and members of other ethnic groups.

To maintain racial harmony, the government has been extremely sensitive to ethnic factors in every field of national life, whether in culture, politics, housing or education. Its present policy is to maintain the multi-cultural society, with each ethnic community preserving its distinct cultural identity. Hence, Singapore is full of colourful festivals throughout the year. Each ethnic group celebrates its own traditional festivals. The Chinese celebrate the Lunar New Year, Mooncake or Lantern Festival, Dumpling Festival and the Festival of the Hungry Ghosts. The Malays celebrate the Muslim New Year, Hari Raya Haji, Hari Raya Puasa at the end of Ramadan (Muslim month of fasting) and the birthday of the Prophet Mohammad. The Indians celebrate the Hindu New Year, Thaipusam and Deepavalee, the Festival of Lights. The Christian festivals are Easter and Christmas. The Buddhists observe Vesak Day which commemorates the birth, enlightenment and final Nirvana of the Buddha.

In politics, as mentioned earlier in this paper, the government has introduced the GRC scheme to ensure adequate representation of minority communities in Parliament. Through a nation-wide housing and development scheme, the government has managed to resettle the various ethnic communities who formerly lived in segregated villages, in new towns and housing estates where they now live intermingled. Moreover, there are community centres in every new town, which provide a variety of recreational and cultural activities aimed at fostering inter-racial relationships and community development. In education, the government has established an integrated school system to replace segregated communal schools and advocates bilingual education whereby each pupil is required to study at least two languages of which one must be English, the common link among various races. The government encourages pupils to study their mother tongues in order to understand their cultural roots.

During the last 25 years, the PAP government has been able to stay in power mainly because of its well-organised and effective political networks, successful economic planning and implementation, and efficient public administration under the strong leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, the former Prime Minister. Nearly all Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament are either well educated individuals or highly qualified professionals. They are required to spend a lot of time with the people at the grassroots level for they need to explain governmental decisions and policies as well as their implications for the multi-racial society, to persuade the people to be tolerant of other races and cultures, and to help families in difficulty solve their problems. Moreover, they must be actively involved in the celebration of all racial and religious festivals and National Day celebrations, and in the implementation of national campaigns. In short, they must play an active role in community education and development.

Apart from the government initiated forums and dialogue sessions with the people, the government forbids public discussions on the various sensitive issues concerning race, language and religion lest they should be exploited by rival political parties for their own motives. Being strongly anti-communist, the government bans all forms of »subversive« activities, including the practice of Paulo Freire's idea of »conscientisation«. Very strict censorship is imposed on the mass media. According to the government, these tough measures are crucial to the prevention of racial conflicts and political unrest in the country. But to non-governmental organisations, these are obstacles to their civic activities. Consequently, the non-governmental and voluntary bodies which are small in number, are unable to play any significant role in civic activities of the mainstream society.

Towards a national ideology

The common English education for all Singaporeans has enabled the younger generation to acquire new ideas and technologies from abroad very quickly, but it has also made them so westernised that they begin to abandon traditional values and cultures. There is an obvious shift from communitarianism towards individualism. This has prompted the government to introduce a national ideology for Singapore and encourage nation-wide debates on this issue. Some pertinent questions raised are as follows: What kind of society will we become in another generation? What sort of people do we want our children to become? Do we really want to abandon our own cultures and national identity? Can we build a nation of Singaporeans in Southeast Asia, on the basis of values and concepts native to other peoples, living in other environments? Some possible answers to these questions were provided in the President's address to Parliament on January 9, 1989:

»If we are not to lose our bearings, we should preserve the cultural heritage of each of our communities, and uphold certain common values which capture the essence of being a Singaporean. These core values include placing society above self, upholding the family as the basic building block of society, resolving major issues through consensus instead of contention, and stressing racial and religious tolerance and harmony.

We need to enshrine these fundamental ideas in a National Ideology. Such a formal statement will bond us together as Singaporeans, with our own distinct identity and destiny. We need to inculcate this National Ideology in all Singaporeans, especially the young. We will do so through moral education and by promoting the use of mother-tongue, by strengthening the teaching of values in schools, and through the mass media, especially newspapers and television.«

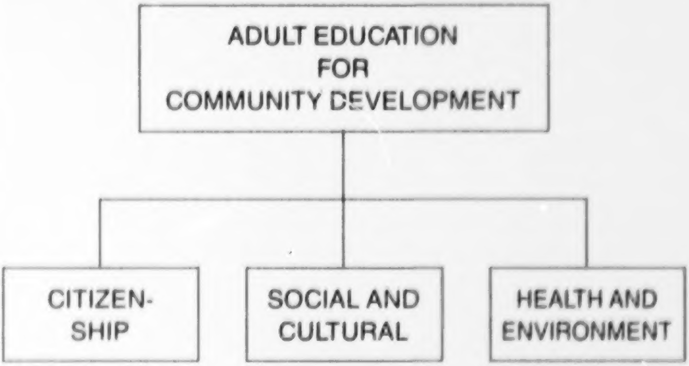
It is hoped that this national ideology will eventually evolve into a strong unifying factor for the multi-racial Singapore.

The role of adult education

In line with the theme of my paper, I shall confine my discussion to the role of adult education in community development. Adult education for community development consists of three main components, viz., citizenship education, social and cultural education, and health and environment education. It is through adult education that the government attempts to promote a common national identity for all races, but at the same time maintaining diversity in cultural matters. The current national slogan is »one people, one nation, one Singapore«.

Citizenship Education: In Singapore, citizenship education is promoted mainly through a series of national campaigns on such themes as road safety, civil defence and crime prevention. The National Community Training Institute and the Ministry of Defence have designed special programmes on national education and leadership training to inculcate national consciousness among youth. As pointed out earlier in this paper, politicians play a very active role in promoting citizenship education by means of speeches and talks to their constituents at the grassroots level.

Social and Cultural Education: Every year, the Ministry of Community Development in collaboration with some non-governmental organisations holds Arts Festival, Senior Citizens' Week, Community Week and National Day celebrations with a view to strengthening social cohesion and cultural vibrance of the nation. During the Community Week, various activities such as trade and food fairs, exhibitions, folk dances and theatres are held with active participation of all races. In addition, customs and practices of each ethnic group are introduced through the mass media to promote


ADULT EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
CITIZEN-SHIP
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

CITIZENSHIP	SOCIAL AND CULTURAL	HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT
● National education	● Parental education	● Food and nutrition
● Basic law	● Consumer education	● Public health
● Crime prevention	● Language	● Primary health care
● Civil service	● Religion	● Physical fitness
● National service	● Arts and crafts	● Sports and games
● Prison education	● Music and drama	● Nature conservation
● Safety education	● Traditional values	● Environment education
● Peace education	● Cultural heritage	

cross-cultural understanding and respect and thereby enhancing racial harmony. The community centres of the People's Association provide a common venue for the various communities to meet and share their ideas and experiences on social issues and cultural matters.

Health and Environment Education: The form of adult education that has been effectively used to cultivate people's attitudes towards health and environment is a series of national campaigns. Through national campaigns on anti-drugs, anti-pollution, anti-littering, anti-spitting and anti-smoking, Singaporeans have learnt to keep the city clean and to stay healthy. Moreover, they have learned to react as a community to the pace of industrialisation and the tempo of modernisation in the midst of rapid social changes.

Most of the adult education programmes are provided by either government ministries or statutory boards (semi-government bodies), leaving very limited scope of operation for non-governmental organisations in the field of adult education. However, if they are willing to collaborate with the government in some national programmes, the non-governmental organisations will get all the necessary support from the government, thus making some contribution to society. It is the intention of the government to mobilise total support from all sectors of the community for its policies in order to achieve a common national goal, i.e. one people, one nation, one Singapore.

Conclusion

With limited hinterland and practically no natural resources, the island Republic of Singapore is indeed in a vulnerable situation. This situation is further aggravated by the existence of a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious society and the presence of politically very sensitive neighbouring countries. Political leaders feel that everything should not be taken for granted in Singapore. Therefore, the government exerts control over all aspects of national life, whether in politics, business, education, culture or housing. On the one hand, by such control over national life, particularly sensitive cultural issues, the government has been able to achieve political stability and racial harmony in the country, but on the other hand, such control has stifled much non-governmental initiatives in adult education and obstructed the development of non-governmental civic activities.

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IRED-Forum

IRED-Forum is the communication tool of an international network of 1000 peasant associations, artisans' and women's groups, organisations for development action in urban surroundings and of centres and institutes giving their support to grassroots groups.

Copies are available from:

Mr. Fernand Vincent, General Secretary, Development Innovations and Networks (IRED), 3, rue de Varembé, Case 115, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland

Post-literacy: notice-board in Ste. Marie, Madagascar

In Nigeria there are three major ethnic groups: the Hausas, the Igbos and the Yorubas. The author analyses the various cultural communication variables in the Yoruba ethnic group as forms of informal education and assesses their effects on societal integration.

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Dele Braimoh

Informal education through cultural communication process in a traditional Nigerian society

As the lifeblood of any organized society, communication, whether mass or traditional, can be looked at as performing among other things, the following functions in any society: socialization, integration, mobilization, domestication, information, persuasion, entertainment, propaganda and education. There is no doubt that with the advent of modern mass media, which include radio, television, films, tapes, video, newspapers and magazines, have come many benefits, hence, we can now talk of technological communication development.

The use of modern communication media technologies, particularly for educational purposes, has been criticized by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire who sees them as tools for domination and domestication of the masses. McLuhan on the other hand believes that such technologies have successfully reduced the whole world into what he labels the »Global Village«.

Freire points out that merely transfering content from a knowledgeable and authoritative source to a passive receiver does nothing to promote the receiver's growth as a person with an autonomous and critical conscience capable of contributing to and influencing his society. Thus, he proposes transforming what he calls »banking education« into a »pedagogy of the oppressed« based on the fact that there is faith in the people's ability to learn, to change and to liberate themselves from oppressive conditions of ignorance, poverty and exploitation.

Nigeria which has been claimed to be the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of 100 million has an illiteracy rate of about 70%. The greatest proportion of this population resides in the rural areas and engages in subsistence farming. This group of people is almost entirely cut off from the information disseminated via the mass media because due to their low purchasing power, they cannot afford to buy radios or television sets, apart from the fact that the rural areas are not provided with electricity and good road networks. The means of communicating with and among the rural people as a means of informal education is through traditional/cultural communication processes which are more effective and credible to them. They are not as complex as the mass media technologies and the information disseminated via them can be adequately decoded within the mental orientations of the people who are simply the »actors« in such acommunication system.

Informal education and communication

To educate is to transmit something to a person with the assumption that what is transmitted is worthwhile. Hence, Omolewa regards education as a process of initiation, which is a general term to cover a variety of processes which are used to intentionally transmit what is valuable in an intelligible way, with the overall aim of getting those who acquire it to behave in a desirable way. In this way therefore, education can be seen as an added knowledge to one's already existing knowledge, acquired in the process of one's everyday socialization in different environments. In the process of being educated, particularly in the informal setting, which includes knowledge acquired on the street, in the market place, among peer groups, in the theatre as well as from the media, experiences are shared with one another as well as with the surrounding environments. This process of sending and receiving information deliberately or accidentally as the case may be is also communication. Effective communication therefore takes place when a source and a receiver share common knowledge and environment which enables them to adequately decode a particular message sent through any particular medium of communication.

Nigeria is heterogenous in many respects. For example, there are ethnic, religious, cultural, political and language differences. Of importance to our discussion in this paper is the language barrier. Standford studied the language plurality and came up with 395 languages spoken in Nigeria. With the recent creation of more States in Nigeria (30 now altogether) there is every likelihood that the number of languages has increased to about 450 or even more because of the fragmentation of the larger entity into geographical, ethnic and cultural boundaries. This will undoubtedly go a long way in confirming the complication that one will experience in communicating any social change or development message across the national boundary using a particular language.

Our interest therefore is to analyse the various cultural communication variables as are available and practised, particularly in the Yoruba ethnic group of Nigeria as forms of informal education and also to assess their likely effects on societal integration.

Cultural communication process among the Yorubas

Culture in Africa has sustained society and is still doing so. It has given the African support, social and political stability which is now a rare phenomenon in a society consistently assaulted by anti-cultural influences. Culture in Africa is something that has values equal to that of life itself. It is the fabric of people's standards and beliefs. Under normal circumstances, education grows out of the cultural environment, the learning process being directly related to the pattern of work in the society.

There are three major ethnic groups in Nigeria: the Hausas, the Igbos and the Yorubas. The major religions in the country are Christianity, Islam and paganism. These three religions are especially predominant among the Yoruba ethnic group.

Traditional religion

Within paganism, there are divinities such as the Ifa divinity, Sango (god of thunder), Ogun (god of iron), Oya (the sea goddess) and the Egungun (the masquerade). Egunguns are of particular interest to our discussion in this paper because they are noted to be »Ara Orun« (the people of the heaven) in the spirits of the departed ancestors who occasionally come from heaven to visit their people on earth. They wear various forms of apparel and communicate in esoteric languages which are interpreted to their spectators by their divine worshippers. People respect whatever they say while they provide without question, whatever they demand. They play a great role in social control and interpersonal relationships. For instance, if and when there is any unresolvable conflict between one person or the other or between one family and the other, or when anything has been stolen without any clue as to who has stolen it, the spirits of their departed ancestors in the form of Egungun are invoked to adjudicate between the warring factions as well as to name or describe the features of the thief.

Non-verbal communication process

Borrowing from the non-verbal communication analysis of Harrison, we subscribe to the fact that culture communicates and that the complex interconnectedness of cultural events itself conveys information to those who participate in those events. However, it is important to recognize that there are major differences between the way individuals convey information to one another by the use of ordinary speech and by the written word and the way we communicate with one another by coded conventions of non-verbal behaviour and non-verbal signs and symbols.

All signs and most symbols and signals, cohere together as sets. Meanings however depend upon contrast. For instance, **red** and **green** lights mean Stop and Go but this is only when they are contrasted one against the other, particularly in their proper setting on a public highway.

In appropriate circumstances, nearly all non-verbal communication processes may be used to convey culturally recognised messages. For example, among the Yorubas, weeping means sorrow, laughter means joy, wearing of black apparel and complete shaving of the hair communicates bereavement while a crown stands for a king. Although these conscious associations are not universally understood, they nonetheless go a long way as a process of behavioural modification for the people in that particular geo-cultural setting.

Naming ceremony

For a typical naming ceremony in a traditional setting, such ingredients as Obi, Atare, Oyin, Iyo and Fish (meaning kolanut, alligator pepper, honey, salt and fish respectively) must be provided and used for the ceremony because of their varying traditional impacts. For instance, kolanut is to destroy death and diseases for the new child, so that he will live to be old like his ancestors. Alligator pepper is to symbolise that the child will bear many children in life. Honey and salt symbolize that the child's life will be prosperous and enjoyable without any woes. Fish symbolizes triumph over life's difficulties. There are many other items that could be added to this basic list, but a lot depends on home background and the belief system of the individuals.

Communication for socialization

Socialization into one's socio-cultural environment requires one to be adept at decoding messages embedded in cultural communication. For example, the Oba's paraphernalia of office, which include big garments, beads, crown, jewellery, golden shoes and of course, the staff of office, will show that this is a traditional leader of a community or city even when he is in the midst of thousands of people. As a means of social control, everyone is expected to show respect to him. The men, no matter how old they are, must take off their caps and lie prostrate to greet him while the women are equally expected to kneel down to greet the Oba (King). This is a mandatory process and anyone that dares to violate this, is considered a deviant and will be dealt with in any traditional disciplinary way appropriate for the offence.

One's social status can be communicated to the whole world by the type of dress worn, make of car owned and the mode of palatial structure one erects to live in. All these go a long way in identifying an individual as a wealthy person, capable of occupying enviable positions in the community he belongs to, such as being conferred with chieftaincy title(s), chosen as presidents or patrons of different social clubs and societies etc.

Instrumental communication

a) Inter-tribal war

In the traditional society, communication between one community and another, to show love, peace, enemity or war is usually done by instrumental communication (AROKO). Even during the inter-tribal wars, the leaders of a tribal group will send an emissary with some objects of communication to the other tribe. Such objects which are normally wrapped, may be kolanut — indicating readiness to make peace or a cutlass indicating readiness to go to war. The receiver would make a choice from the two objects depending on the prevailing situation and whatever choice the leader of the other tribe finally made would ultimately determine the nature of the consequent relationship between the two tribes: either to make peace or to go to war.

b) Marriage ceremony

During marriage ceremonies unlike the present day marriages, the sincerity, faithfulness and loyalty of the bride to the bridegroom is put to the test via her ability to keep her virginity up to the time of her marriage. Prior to that period, it is taboo for the new couple to have any sexual intercourse; they patiently wait for their glorious wedding night after all relevant dowries have been paid. The night is always a night of tension for the bride's parents in case it should be proved that their daughter was not a virgin. The bride is usually escorted to the husband's house by some married women from her family with a piece of white material to symbolically give feedback on the expected, everlasting joy. The bridegroom, who for the first time will be performing the role as the husband, will use the piece of white material to collect blood drips confirming that the bride was a virgin at the time of consummation. The blood stained piece of cloth is sent back to the husband's parents-in-law the following day with kegs of palm-wine which then shows the joy of the proud parents for having a »responsible« daughter. But in the event that the bride was found to have been deflowered by someone else, the piece of cloth is sent back to the bride's parents without any accompanying keg of palm-wine. Later, there would be discussion as to how to nullify the marriage; or if the bride is allowed to stay with the husband, she would have lost the respect of the husband and that of the entire members of the family including her own parents because henceforth she would be labelled a »prostitute«.

c) Accession to the throne

It is customary practice among the Yoruba to consult the IFA oracle to determine who from the many contenders should ascend the throne to ensure a peaceful reign. After the process of consulting the oracle, the king-makers would provide three calabashes filled with (i) ashes, (ii) honey, and (iii) cold water. The would-be king is asked to make his choice while blindfolded. It is believed that his choice will dictate how peaceful or turbulent his reign will be. From a cultural communication point of view, the calabash filled with ashes depicts a turbulent and dictatorial reign, the honey calabash implies happiness and peace while the cold water calabash indicates a successful reign with abundant wealth.

Conclusion

Culture as a homogenous way of life of a particular group of people cannot be universally generalized for different people or environments. This is because cultural biases of »outsiders« may make some effective cultural communication system in one particular culture be meaningless and useless gestures or even abnormal ways of life to another culture. Information is only meaningful and effective when it can be decoded adequately within the mental orientation and cultural milieu of the people.

Notwithstanding the advancement in technology, overdependence on electronic media for the purpose of formal and/or informal education of the masses, particularly in the rural settings of the third world countries may have a negative impact (Braimoh 1984). Rather, a combination of traditional and modern communication media (Tradomedia) could be used. Such will not only be accessible to them, it will be credible, accepted, respectfully and frequently utilized as an informal education channel by which any government could effect even social change programmes on the generality of the rural people.

Building a village library in Tsaramody, Madagascar

Ethnic minorities, especially black ethnic groups, are under-represented at British universities. This article describes a project at the University of Leeds in Yorkshire which aims at providing easier access to better education for black ethnic minorities.

Profesor Richard Taylor and Jean Gardiner are staff members of the Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds, England.

Jean Gardiner / Richard Taylor

University Continuing Education in Britain and the development of educational provision with the minority ethnic communities

Introduction

Although the British University system is generally regarded as being of high quality, it is also one of the most elitist in Western society. No doubt this reflects the notoriously hierarchical and class-bound structures of the wider society in Britain. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that those from the lower socio-economic classes, and other »disadvantaged« groups in society, are grossly under-represented within the student body in higher education. Prominent amongst such under-represented groups are the various black ethnic groups within Britain, the majority of whom originate from the Caribbean or the Indian sub-continent.

Currently, British higher education is undergoing major and fundamental change. Not only have overall student numbers been increasing rapidly, but the student body has broadened in terms of its class, age and ethnic composition. However, these developments are both recent and, more importantly, modest in scale especially within the older Universities. For there to be any real change in the cultural and structural impact of higher education in Britain, there will have to be **ab initio** analysis within the new context of curriculum content, pedagogic methods, and the criteria for admissions policies and for evaluating »success«.

This is a formidable agenda, especially at a time of deep economic recession when public resources are limited. University Continuing Education (CE) has a critical role here as a catalyst for change and as an institutional bridge between higher education and the wider community, with which the Universities are realising increasingly that they should have close links.

Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education

The Universities Council for Adult and Cointinuing Education (UCACE) is the collective body for the United Kingdom's University CE, with representation from virtually all UK Universities. It has played a significant role in policy formulation and strategic development in recent years. By common consent within UCACE, there is an urgent need for the development of CE work with the minority ethnic communities, and, further, for the integration of this work into the mainstream development of the University system. In order to explore how best to achieve these objectives a UCACE working party was established in 1988, with membership from a number of Universities, and with the following terms of reference:

- To gather together details of both specific provision for ethnic minority communities, and of ethnic minority involvement in the general adult and continuing education provision of Universities.
- To obtain information on Universities' equal opportunities and/or anti-racism policy statements.
- To identify barriers to access for the ethnic minority communities, and other aspects of institutional practice that discriminate against the participation of black people in adult and continuing education programmes.
- To identify areas of particular importance in this field and to suggest ways of developing appropriate adult and continuing education provision in the short to medium term at all Universities in England and Wales.
- To explore pedagogic, curriculum, marketing and staff development issues associated with such development, and make specific and practical proposals, identifying sources of funding where appropriate.

The report that was issued[1] identified several key areas for development, and a bid for development funding was submitted by UCACE to the Universities Funding Council in 1991. This bid was successful and the first year of the project is now well underway (the project began in October 1992). The funding allocated (£31k. in 1991 - 92, and £32k. for a second year in 1992 - 93) enabled the appointment of a 0.5 post Project Officer. The project, which is based at the University of Leeds, involves in addition to Leeds, the Universities of Manchester, London (Birkbeck), and Warwick.

The project has wide-ranging and quite ambitious objectives:

- **Access:** to institute, with a number of Universities, differing models of access provision focused upon minority ethnic recruitment and subsequent HE entry. As well as liaison with University Departments of Continuing Education, this would involve institutional change via admissions officers, registries etc.

- **Community education and outreach:** to build upon the relatively few examples of good practice in minority ethnic provision in community education, to develop analogous practice elsewhere.

- **Professional and vocational:** to liaise with a number of Directors of CPE/CVE to ascertain whether increased CE provision for ethnic minority professional groups is possible and, if so, in what fields. In the second year of the project, we would hope to see some implementation of initiatives in this area.

- **Curriculum:** to develop a number of experimental courses in different Universities based upon multi-cultural curriculum and spanning arts, social studies and science disciplinary areas.

- **Resourcing:** to put forward a number of models for viable resourcing and staffing for work in this area, drawn in part from examples of existing successful provision. In addition, sources of funding other than UFC will be explored and, in the second year, implemented.

- **Institutional change:** to change the attitudes, practices and assumptions of both Departments of CE and the wider institution of the University in terms of relationships with the minority ethnic communities. This will involve issues such as equal opportunities policies, curriculum change and structure, and ethnic monitoring.

The intention is to develop various aspects of these CE programme objectives in each of the four Universities: the coordination of the work will be undertaken at Leeds through the Project Officer, Lakhbir Virk, and Project Director, Richard Taylor. All those involved in the project meet regularly in a Project Steering Committee, chaired by the UCACE Vice-Chair and including minority ethnic community representatives.

The various initiatives now being developed include

- Staff development programmes for part-time CE staff, concentrating particularly upon »access« course tutors, and including curriculum development.

- Various schemes aimed at developing Black Women's studies provision at different levels in different locations. These initiatives are linked with FE, HE and the voluntary sector.

- The establishment of an MA course for adult educators which will enhance understanding of equal opportunities issues, emphasising particularly the dimensions of race and culture.

- Courses in different areas for Black Women (Caribbean and Bangladeshi) working as carers in the health field in conjunction with the community work services.

- Short, 8 - 10 week New Opportunities courses targeted within the black communities to promote awareness of education and employment opportunities, and certificated through the University.

- Research into the progression of access students, particularly black access students, within higher education. This will involve collaboration between two Universities, a Local Authority, and the local Training and Enterprise Council.

It is anticipated that the second year of the project (1993 - 94) will concentrate in part upon work in vocational and professional training programmes for the ethnic minority communities, in association with several national professional associations. Also, we hope to involve at least two additional Universities which have had little previous involvement with ethnic minority work.

A project report will be available at the end of 1994 and anyone interested in receiving a copy should contact Richard Taylor at the Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

Community-based pre-access provision

The University of Leeds was also awarded a special allocation of £20k. for 1992 - 93, in view of its track record in community-based work with disadvantaged groups and in »access« programming generally, to develop innovative work in this area. The University has used this grant to appoint a 0.5 Project Officer with a brief to develop **pre-access** provision with the ethnic minority communities in Leeds. The University's CE Department has a large programme of certificated access courses which qualify successful adult students for entry into degree programmes. This programme includes an evening part-time access course in Combined Social Studies developed successfully in 1991 - 92 with the specific objective of increasing access for ethnic minority students[2]. The Department also has a large programme of community-based education programmes, many of which are organized in conjunction with ethnic minority community organizations. However, relatively little work has been undertaken on **linking** these two programmes and thereby constructing »access pathways« from basic education level, through certificated pre-access and access provision, to higher education or equivalent vocational training opportunities.

The objectives of the project have thus been to construct various cooperative, pilot schemes to facilitate this development. Pre-access courses are being developed in conjunction with various centres in Leeds, catering for different communities (Sikh, Bangladeshi, Hindu and Pakistani). The modular courses will include study skills, student counselling and guidance, in addition to English, Maths, and the history and culture of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

Conclusion

These projects are of course small-scale. However, it is through practical, pilot study development of this type that changes in University practice and structure are most likely to occur. The role of CE in this context is to provide a receptive, networking environment in which »good practice« can evolve. At the same time, CE is a part of the University system with experience of both the University culture and the methodological rigour that is necessary to establish soundly-based innovation. These project developments will therefore provide soundly-based examples of ways in which University provision and University culture can be developed to facilitate ethnic minority involvement[3].

Notes

1. The Report was entitled »Report of the working party on Continuing Education provision for the minority ethnic communities« and was published by UCACE

in April 1990. Copies are available from Dr. Russell Moseley, Department of Continuing Education, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL.

2. The development of this course is described in Jean Gardiner and Richard Taylor, »Developing opportunities for ethnic minority students at the University of Leeds«, Final Report October 1992, Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds. Copies are available from the Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.
3. The results of both the UCACE and pre-access projects will be fully documented and dissemination events will be arranged in 1994 - 95. Anyone wanting details of either or both projects should contact Richard Taylor, Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

Bob Powell (Editor):
Adult Learners and the Further and Higher Education Act 1992.
A review of the debate.

The period between the 1991 White Paper »Education and training for the 21st century« in May 1991 and the eventual passage of the Further and Higher Education Act in March 1992 saw an informed and lively Parliamentary debate on adult learning. This publication is a record of that debate. It is published by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE). For more information, please contact:

The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, 19B De Montfort Street,
Leicester LE1 7GE, Great Britain.

What problems are immigrants who have grown up in a completely different cultural context, faced with? What possibilities are there of overcoming these difficulties?
Robert J. Gregory describes two examples from his experience as Senior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology, Massey University, Palmerston North in New Zealand.

Robert J. Gregory

The culture broker role: Ideas from rehabilitation models

»The first two months were exciting — new sights, interesting people to meet, initiating a bank account and figuring out the exchange rates, learning to drive on the other side of the road — indeed, there were a thousand new activities«, she described in an animated voice. I listened patiently to this fellow American in this far-off place, New Zealand, in which we each chose to live.

»Then«, she sighed, »some frustrations began. Things were not quite right. At least, things did not seem quite right.« She continued on, »the people are so stiff and formal. They do not laugh at the same things, in fact, they don't laugh at all.« Her husband chimed in with a description of his experiences at work, and in the shops, and along the streets. These encounters were not always pleasant and carefree, »I get strange reactions, or, sullen responses, rather than friendly reactions«, he moaned. His problems of getting along with people in this country became increasingly frequent. He too, was angry, frustrated, and anxious.

After four months, this couple were struggling to stay. Nothing seemed to work in the way they expected. Whether they considered their jobs, their daily life events such as shopping, or even just trying to talk intelligently with neighbours, nothing was right. In fact, they stated, »the place is positively un-American!«

When I met them again, six months later, the couple were sad and disillusioned. They wanted to return to familiar home ground, but were unable to break their work contract without enormous financial expenses. They needed and asked for help. I listened carefully to their story, for their frustrations, anger, sadness, and sense of betrayal were familiar, not only for me personally, but for literally dozens of other people whom I have met and worked with over the years in cross-cultural situations.

What happens

Entry into another culture typically takes place with expectations of differences and excitement at the move, the new situation, and a bit of grief at departing from the old and familiar. In actuality, people are rarely sufficiently prepared for the next phases of adjustment. These later steps often require a great deal of cognitive, emotional, and social coping skills.

In a cultural move involving great differences, one expects culture shock, an adjustment period, and security in the knowledge that one will never be totally immersed. But, it is only rarely that ventures into cultures which are radically different last for years. On the other hand, in a culture where lifestyles are close to what is left behind, the differences are subtle, and may be ill-defined. People are lulled into thinking, believing, or feeling that things are the same, or similar. Nevertheless, lifestyles, daily events, behaviour, and indeed, the culture, do not match expectations. People then use their familiar patterns of behaviour, their learned words and language, their stock routines and coping skills, to little or no, or even negative, avail.

The situation of adapting to a new culture is like listening to a radio station that is just a little off key — the information is there, but it is distorted and harmony is lost. Most difficult, many people move into situations where cultures are only slightly different and remain for many years. They may fail to recognize the differences, become depressed, and blame themselves.

What can happen

As a culture broker, with backgrounds in anthropology, psychology and most relevant of all, rehabilitation, I have learned to listen a great deal before eventually, asking and interpreting. With the couple mentioned, for example, I eventually asked them to compare their new situation to that an anthropologist goes through in a totally unfamiliar far-off country. Sure enough, the couple began to discover that the concept of culture did fit. Having an explanation as to why their difficulties emerged enabled them to put their experiences into a context, to understand, and therefore, to begin to learn and predict what could be changed. In fact, the idea of different cultures gave them a road-map as to how to manage.

For people I work with, I find it is only when, and if, they can drop their familiar old routines, and explore to discover the subtle differences. Then they can understand their own past, and the new culture. But, they do have to become »aware« of their past, as well as realize they are in a new culture, otherwise they never »adjust«'.

This is similar to the situation of sudden onset of a disability — which requires adapting to changed conditions. Rehabilitation is about coping, and consequently the ideas and practices evolved in this field are pertinent. The parallel of gaining a disability with having the environment/culture change, whether subtle or obvious, requires adaptations of many sorts.

Another example is an English fellow who had been in New Zealand for several years. He was uncomfortable, unhappy, and depressed. Neither he nor anyone else could figure out precisely why. When we talked, it was evident he had never thought of New Zealand as being a different culture. Coming from middle class England, he felt New Zealand, heavily populated by British subjects years back, was virtually the same. He said, »I'm not behaving any different in New Zealand.« I suspect he was right, which was precisely his problem. His environment was markedly divergent from where he had come. His behaviour had to change to match the new context. To change behaviour, he had to think differently. Fortunately, I was able to offer him some ideas.

In fact, I sent him to find, learn and discover how New Zealand styles of living, working and relating were different from those in his original environment of England. He realized a sense of adventure. This was for him, a new, and essential activity to uncover why he was not fitting in well.

Dilemmas

I recall one of my own dilemmas, tea breaks (or smoko, depending upon social class) at 10 and 3 mean that almost every New Zealander takes a half hour break from work to socialize and relax. I could join and be a part of New Zealand culture or I could avoid these rituals, and never have an opportunity to be accepted, to learn alternative behaviour patterns. What to do? It is a choice, like many others. Immigrants sometimes carry their own culture along and find or generate supportive groups, thereby maintaining their behaviour over the generations. Immigrants can also join in with their new culture, try out the new way of life, and gain an insight into their own past, the present culture, and the ability to choose those parts of each that are positive and good. Some aspects of New Zealand culture include activities such as attending dog trials or sheep handling and shearing exhibitions, or using the slang and jargon and accents. Some immigrants choose to join, others resist. Some fail to become aware that they are in a new culture. It is these people who have the greatest problem. They lack a framework to understand why things are the way they are!

New Guidebook for development and production of literacy materials
This Guidebook was published by the Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) in Tokyo.
Copies are available as long as stocks last from:
German Adult Education Association, Institute for International Cooperation, Rheinallee 1, 53173 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Food counselling in Ste. Marie, Madagascar

Can Western thinking which is dominated by analytical thinking help in solving current global problems e.g. in the area of ecology? The author comes to the conclusion that only a thinking which has synthetical character and takes all aspects into consideration, can offer the possibility of finding long-term solutions.

This article is a reprint from the journal LEIF, Life and Education in Finland 4/92.

Risto Willamo is lecturer at the University of Helsinki.

Risto Willamo

Western man — a master of detail but blind to the whole

● *An increasing number of people refuse to believe that any technical, legislative or suchlike reforms alone could solve the current major problems, especially those to do with the environment. These problems are not solvable without a more comprehensive change, an entirely new way of thinking and view of life. But not so many people dare stop to ponder what this new way of thinking should be and how it could be achieved.*

● This article offers one approach to the debate. The central idea is that western thinking and education should be developed towards synthesis, towards dealing with large overall issues and viewing them from several different angles. Each party to the ongoing debate holds to the viewpoint of their own area in administration or science, and the dominating method is analysis, dissection of issues into smaller parts. For the ideas presented below to become realized, fundamental changes in the whole of Finnish society would be required.

Western thought based on analysis

The approach that characterizes all functions in western society is based on analysis and differentiation, from individual thinking to research, education and administration. Coming up against a problem, we first try to put it into a suitable pigeon-hole in our minds, and then we begin to structure it by cutting it into pieces. This is what schools and universities teach us to do — to classify, to structure hierarchically, to make distinctions. In science we are taught to identify and name plant and animal species, eco-systems, elements, and so on; social scientists are trained for example to look for distinctions between the behaviour of different sexes or social groups.

The same tendency towards differentiation and compartmentilization is evident on practically all levels of society's functions. Planning and decision-making are divided into clearly marked sectors, subordinate to different ministries and agencies. In education, the material to be taught is grouped into disciplines and educational programmes. In research, scientists specialize early in the problems of a specific area. Even family duties are often permanently divided and assigned to the wife or the husband. Crossing the borders between sectors, disciplines or roles is rare and considered unadvisable. A mother-tongue teacher will only teach mother tongue and a mathematics teacher only mathematics, neither concerned about connections between the subjects.

Behind this kind of thinking is the contemporary idea of efficiency: a segmented system, where everyone answers for his own duties only, is believed to achieve the greatest efficiency. If for instance our educational system aimed at teaching how to structure larger overall issues, extensive cross-disciplinary studies would be necessary. These would easily extend the time spent on studies, which is regarded as societally unadvisable. The critical abilities and widened views that cross-disciplinary studies might develop are not appreciated, and additional years of study are only seen as a waste of societal resources.

I take another example from societal planning and decision-making. The idea of participatory methods is that in decision-making the views of all the parties whom the decision will directly or indirectly affect should be taken into account. The need for such decision-making practices is obvious for instance in the context of projects with serious environmental effects. However, participatory planning necessitates a great deal of negotiation, and it is time-consuming and strenuous. This is probably one of the reasons why such methods have not yet taken root in Finnish democracy.

What does analysis tell us?

So when we think and act we structure our environment by dissecting it into parts. But how true in the surrounding reality are the borders that we think we identify between different classes of phenomena, people, and so on? Does analysis help us to find something real?

In science, classification is often obviously useful; in many situations it is illustrative for example to distinguish between animate and inanimate matter. Furthermore, systematic taxonomy, dividing plants, fungi and animals into classes, orders, families, genera and species, helps us to understand the functions of nature. Likewise it is easier to structure nature by distinguishing between different things.

But there is the other method, just as justified and important, of viewing natural phenomena as continua. When a forest is waterlogged no-one can tell precisely at what point it turns into a bog. If the process goes on, the ground remains under water for part of the year — so when should we begin calling it a lake? A slime mould can move from one place to another; passing through a net it can split into small granules and, once on the other side, fuse back into »one big mould«. Is it a fungus or an animal? Is it one individual or many? Even the line between animate and inanimate matter may be unclear; a live virus can sometimes take a crystallized form apparently lacking all signs of life.

Thus even »exact« nature offers a vast number of cases which cannot be indisputably placed in any of the given classes. This lack of clarity is even more obvious in the classifications of the human sciences. For example, however unambiguously legal texts may be written, the law alone never suffices for distinguishing between »criminals« and »honest people«. Even in the court room the question is really about the judge's or the jury's interpretation of the case, and interpretation is inevitably restricted and weighted in some ways, being dependent on individuals.

And to crown it all, a Supreme Court judge, a professional representative of honesty and lawfulness, may lie to his wife about private matters every evening. It is as if he had moved from one pigeon-hole to another, dropping the judge's role and assuming a husband's. He is not necessarily conscious of any contradiction in this behaviour, because he does not think of himself and his life as a whole. In the light of this example it then seems entirely wrong that those whom the law has once found guilty of a crime will easily carry the stamp of a criminal for the rest of their lives.

With these examples I am trying to show that all definition always depends on the viewpoint. If we consider feeding methods, a slime mould is clearly a fungus, but if our focus is on motion it comes closer to an animal. A judge may be professionally honest even if he is dishonest as a person. We have to accept the fact that the only correct answer to many questions is: »It depends on the angle.« Reality is much more complex than we usually care to admit. If we accepted this fact, it would surely be easier to deal with emergencies which shake our view of the world.

Emphasis on analysis strengthens dualistic thinking

One typical form of differentiation is dualistic thinking — a tendency to divide the problem at issue into two diametrically opposed basic elements. In philosophy dualistic thinking usually means the division of all being into mind and matter (cf. Descartes), but we also practise dualistic juxtaposition in our daily lives.

I believe dualistic thinking to have many negative consequences. It is very tempting to divide things into black and white, because then the world seems simpler than it really is. It feels safe to think of people as good or bad and as men or women; of states as developed or underdeveloped and as dictatorships or democracies; of plants and animals as useful or harmful; and so on. But this kind of thinking strongly simplifies matters because they are seen only from one angle. Such dualism is often entirely needless and may lead to aggravating conclusions, at the worst to a kind of battle between two elements.

Let us consider for a moment the debate about equal rights, sex discrimination and education. We might be able to find new dimensions of the issues if we openly cared to ask: is there any reason in the modern world why we should go on insisting that every person is either a man or a woman? And is biological gender as important as we still think? Such phenomena as transvestism, sex-reassignment surgery and increasingly open homosexuality, which obscure the man/woman dualism — are they not logical consequences of recent scientifc development? How could sexual boundaries remain holy and unchanged in a world where genes are being manipulated and moved from one place to another like bricks? In order to stop discrimination we should emphasize that we are all humans, in many respects quite similar to each other. An individual's gender and homo- or heterosexuality represents just one point of view and does not justify his or her classification as a person.

Environmental crisis in the shadow of analytical science

At least a partial explanation for the domination of differentiation in our thinking is to be found in history. The rise of modern science, which began in early modern times and has reached its peak in this century, is based on analysis. The success story of science is composed of numerous small steps. If researchers had not specialized in their own restricted problems, it would probably not be possible now to cure so many diseases, to construct such complex devices or, by and large, to understand such difficult details as scientists do today. Science has found answers to many difficult questions bit by bit and so doing improved our welfare.

Yet there is always a price to pay. We have gone too far in splitting entities and considering one piece at a time or approaching problems from the angle of one discipline only. We have arrived at atomism, which makes us blind to many major problems that are developing around us. Classification and differentiation have helped us to structure the world, but at the same time they have also strongly simplified our views, made it difficult to combine or con-

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nect problems and to approach them from new angles. Problems have seemed to be basically simple, and we have relied on the belief that they will be solved by science, given time.

The current environmental crisis is a good example of the other side of this development. The fact that environmental problems have developed as far as they have goes to show that the leadership of research and decision-making has not been capable of synthesis. Each specialist may have recognized environmental problems connected with their own field, but none of them have had the ability to see beyond sector and disciplinary borders. Dealing with the environmental crisis as a whole requires entirely new thinking and a wider viewpoint, because this crisis cannot possibly be restricted to just one field of science, discipline or social sector. Dying forests are not only a scientific problem, since economic and socio-cultural consequences will obviously follow.

The globality of environmental problems also requires new thinking; we need to perceive the world as a whole. This is very difficult for many people, since we have been taught to split it into nations, states, continents, and so on.

Man as apart from nature

Many environmental philosophers agree that at least one aspect of the current crisis is the tendency, common especially in the West, to think of man as apart from nature. Nature is detached from man, it is a store of resources which man is allowed to utilize for improving his welfare.

It seems to me that contemporary environmental thinking is also largely based on this man/nature dualism. The cause of environmental problems is believed to be a disease of nature, not of man. Its symptoms are manifest in nature, so nature must be the patient. Thus environmental protection is expected to provide proper treatment for the patient, and as a cure we install catalytic converters in cars so as to decrease the emission of pollutant gases, or spread lime over forests so as to relieve the symptoms caused by acid rain.

We cannot really understand the nature of the environmental crisis unless we discard the man/nature dualism and begin thinking of man as an integral part of nature. Even though the symptoms of the disease, environmental changes, are first identified in nature, the cause of the disease is man. And in the end man himself will also suffer from the disease. Therefore we should really concentrate on the treatment of man, for example by trying to question man's values and priorities. In other words, it would be more important to reflect on the necessity of driving cars than to develop techniques for purifying exhaust gases. (This is not to say that catalytic converters are not useful as first aid to the severe problems we are currently facing.)

The fact is that man is inseparable from nature. Very concretely, we need food produced by nature. We cannot create the smallest piece of art or record the smallest scientific observation without the brain and muscular energy that is generated by our digestion, which in turn functions by biochemical rules.

So in chemical and biological terms we are indisputably a part of nature, and so we are in more spiritual or intellectual terms as well. As philosophers point out, it is impossible to say where the »body« or »nature« ends and the »soul« or »civilization« begins. Think of the intense effect of Beethoven's 5th symphony — how much of it derives from the fact that the composer was adequately nourished and did not have to suffer from cold in the open, and how much derives purely from his personal creative power? Such a breakdown is of course entirely unthinkable.

In the same way it is impossible to define where the »environmental crisis« turns into a »societal crisis«. Was the power plant disaster at Chernobyl a scientific or a societal problem? What sector of society should bear the responsibility for the consequences? The answers are naturally »both« and »all«.

Differentation pesters education, too

Anyone used to thinking along differentiation lines finds it hard to perceive that all of us, on all levels, are responsible for problems like the environmental crisis, not just »environmentalists« or »experts«. It is typical of contemporary society that issues like environmental problems are assigned to a specific ministry and special environmental educators. There is some talk about the integration principle in both education and administration, but so far its practical application has not been very successful in Finland. And how could it have been — the integration principle would require civil servants and teachers to widen their own horizons and to synthesize, precisely what they have not been taught to do. It is in fact the idea of differentiation or non-integration that permeates the whole of society in an »integrated« way.

The tardy application of the integration principle goes back to differentiation patterns which widely affect education and educator communities. The strict segregation of education from other societal sectors is one of these patterns which hamper the introduction of new ideas and are very difficult to break.

Another example is the dualistic division of educational communities into teachers and students, two castes which at times seem almost to be at war. That an educational community should be a collective is practically forgotten. In a good learning situation a student asking questions widens the teacher's horizon as much as the teacher's answers widen the student's. It is not easy to say —

nor is it important — who is giving and who is receiving here; what is important is that teaching and learning become collective processes.

The contents and methods of teaching are also alarmingly often discussed entirely separately from each other. Environmental education, for example, requires new teaching methods because environmental protection, if it is to be successful, means new thinking and new ways of life. If a teacher talks about the importance of sharing responsibility and about a comprehensive view of man, but does this using conventional, non-interactive methods designed for providing factual information, an aware and interested listener can hardly be anything but confused.

Finally, at Finnish universities you hear academics frequently referring to research and teaching as separate and practically rival areas. It is as if the hours spent on teaching were »lost« from the research point of view, as is also implied by the terminology (a teaching duty vs. the right to research). This may be indicative of teaching being alarmingly undervalued, while science is perceived much too narrowly, purely from the viewpoint of research.

New problems mean new teaching practices

The current environmental issues represent problems that mankind never had to deal with before. They largely result from recent scientific and technological development. The fission of the nucleus of an atom emits energies that are hard to perceive by an ordinary person. You cannot see radiation, you cannot shield yourself from it by hiding behind the door, because it penetrates doors and walls. The development of medicine and especially genetic engineering also entails some very confusing questions. How to face a childhood boyfriend who is presently a woman? Do we have the right to decide our children's sex, state of health or the colour of their eyes beforehand?

Education should really prepare people for dealing with these difficult, complex and wide-ranging issues, because they will be crucial in the future. We cannot deal with them without some knowledge of the principles and terminologies of several sciences, and an ability to discuss things in terms of values and emotions is also necessary. We tend to think of experts as those who »know« a lot about an issue, and »knowing« is usually associated with a great deal of factual data. Similarly our education aims above all at adding to the knowledge possessed by pupils and students. But, considering the problems arising from genetic engineering, why should a narrowly specialized molecular biologist be regarded as an expert rather than the father or mother of five children, or a philosopher? Each of these has an individual point of view on the problems, and I do not believe it is justified automatically to prefer any one of them.

One of the worst problems of contemporary Finnish education is that it fails to satisfy the requirements described above by not training people in versatility. On the contrary, it encourages specialization, restriction to one viewpoint and the collection of abundant factual information, instead of teaching us how to question our values and reflect on ourselves as human beings with knowledge and emotions. Complexity must be recognized; analytical sience will never be able to solve all the problems of the world!

Of course the relation between analysis and synthesis is also a question of angle. No dualistic division into one and the other is feasible; every consideration comes closer to analysis on one level and to synthesis on another. For example, a biologist investigating some physiological phenomenon is successfully practising synthesis on the cellular level. Yet from the angle of the environmental crisis his investigation remains a minute analysis of a particular detail, unless he relates his findings to global considerations or human action in general. But from an astronomer's point of view even global considerations may seem minute.

Teachers and researchers who are asked to cover some new approach in their courses or projects frequently object on the grounds that the coverage would then become excessive. They claim that the subject matter is so extensive already that all its aspects cannot be effectively dealt with without further resources. This is perfectly self-evident! Every detail in the world can be discussed with infinite coverage, taking the analysis deeper and deeper. What is essential is the relation between analysis and synthesis and the weighting of the discussion.

In my opinion all issues in the current world situation should somehow be approached from a global and societal viewpoint. In other words, every detail at issue, its understanding and its importance should be evaluated in terms of society's and mankind's other functions. A teacher and researcher should also always consider the relation of the matter at hand to his personal world-view and values.

We should learn how to apply different parallel ways of thinking and to switch to new angles as situations change. I do not mean to say that the end should justify any means. It is important for everyone to have personal considered opinions and to stick to them. But if we could also understand the views of others we would be much better prepared for conflict situations.

The contemporary environmental debate in Finland abounds with statements based on highly restricted standpoints. As the standpoints of the debating parties are usually different, most contributions keep missing their target; the debate becomes an exchange of lines of the type »I am right and you are wrong«. It is difficult to see that both are partly right, and that neither's standpoint may be fruitful for some of the problems at issue. This kind of debate does not teach the parties much understanding for the other's views. It is a waste of time and energy which, considering the urgency of the current situation, we really cannot afford.

I would finally like to stress that I do not belittle the importance of analytical differentiation. Specialization, classification and investigation of details will always be needed. My view is that synthesizing thinking should be given a place alongside analytical thinking, neither replacing the other.

As I see it, many current major problems result from unwanted consequences of the development of analytical science, but they have to be perceived holistically before we can hope really to understand and solve them. This does not come easily, since all functions of society are presently based on differentiation, but perhaps there is no other way. We are facing a reassessment of our whole conception of science and our educational principles, and we must not exclude any societal sector, scientific field or discipline. Problems generated by differentiation will not be solved by eating more.

First harvest after the drought in Ambolokoy, Madagascar

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We are becoming more and more conscious of the urgency to deal with environmental problems in order to save our planet and leave our children with a liveable world. However, we are at the very beginning in developing appropriate educational tools and approaches for getting the message across and influencing meaningful changes of attitudes and conduct, not only as a general political demand, but in our daily actions, too. Cecilia von Sanden and Graciela Evia from the »Grupo Ambiente y Desarrollo« of the »Centro de Investigación y Promoción Franciscano y Ecológico«, Casilla 13125, 11700 Montevideo, Uruguay, have given this aspect some analytical attention.

Cecilia von Sanden / Graciela Evia

A critical view of environmental education. Proposals from a socio-ecological perspective

1. Introduction

The recording and transmission of knowledge (teaching), and the creation of new knowledge (research), on a theoretical as well as a practical level, are both fundamental to the understanding of society's development and the use of environmental resources to satisfy needs and improve the quality of life.

We are witnesses today to the fact that the current forms of development introduced within Latin America have led to the contemporary social and environmental crisis that our continent is suffering. Many factors have played a role in this process, but there is no doubt that a key contributing factor has been the way in which people have used and abused their knowledge of the reality around them. Knowledge connected with power has frequently been utilized as an instrument to attain ends that violate the living conditions of the majority of people. The desire for knowledge and power, protected under the guise of »scientific neutrality«, and to benefit humanity, has justified the control of the environment and has permitted some people to dominate others.

The actors in the educative process in question, in the midst of current forms of development, have been both state institutions (from ministries, cultural institutes, etc.) as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs for social and environmental promotion and research, development agencies, scientific organizations etc.). They have included the new social movements as well as individuals (directors, professionals, the media and people in general). Each one has borne a separate responsibility in a different sphere of action and decision, each with its own range of influence. Their diverse objectives were not combined in a generally shared framework of theory and practice. Instead of lending them more leverage, diversity generated divisions and conflict, and ended in isolated activities, lack of support, and at times mutual incompatibility.

This has prompted the recent plea for a new type of education that can be employed as a tool to modify the ways that people perceive, think and act. What is needed is an organized educational proposition, a continual cycle of action and reflection, stimulating critical discussion of the problems that we have already recognized to be social-environmental. It is necessary, both on a local as well as on a global scale, to reach a consensus upon which to work towards sustainable environmental development.

In support of that interest for a new kind of education, we intend in the following essay to share our views on the situation of environmental education in Uruguay, and to present our proposals in that regard. In examining our reality, we cannot divorce ourselves from our concepts of environment, of education, nor of that which has been and still remains our educational system in practice. That is the basis for our impressions and criticism of traditional environmental education, and the basis for our confidence in a new theoretical and methodological focus on that area: an ecological-social focus.

At the same time, we will describe our ideas, delineating what we feel to be necessary for this new kind of education to progress from an understanding and description of the facts to the formulation of concrete alternatives so as to enable a change in reality towards a new type of development.

2. Formal and non-formal education in Uruguay

In general terms, formal education in Latin America is confronted by numerous deficiencies, among others those of an economic nature. The difficulties of the state to assume the responsibility of providing education for its citizens were to some degree instrumental in leading other institutions outside the state ambit to assume that function, developing it according to their own principles, and with their own goals and methods. This is evidenced in the growth of private formal teaching institutions and the development of non-formal education activities by diverse non-government organizations.

In the concrete case of Uruguay, environmental education does not escape the difficulties that confront education in general. As in many other Latin American countries, at times it proves to be absurd, when economic needs are so urgent, to propose educational platforms incorporating the environmental dimension and tending to foster a critical eco-social way of thinking. There is a lack of primary and secondary schools, of general infrastructure, wages are insufficient, personnel inadequately prepared, and so on, and so forth — a situation that also occurs at the university level. On the other hand, non-governmental institutions that provide non-formal environmental education, such as neighbourhood groups, do not have sufficient means to reach the public on a scale as wide as that of formal education. That is why many successful educational and environmental experiences and efforts remain restricted to the local level, and are not carried over to other spheres. The situation is similar in the case of non-government experiences of this nature in the formal sector.

Moreover, the absence of environmental issues in the curriculum of teacher training programs means that educators lack training in this area from the start, a situation that they can remedy or not, depending on their own degree of interest in ecology or on their own particular responsibility.

In addition, economic and infrastructural difficulties exist in both rural and urban areas alike. Particularly noticeable in the rural sector are the deficiencies in the area of communication and access to information.

The situation that exists in our country is just as common in the rest of Latin America. Therefore, the question arises whether there is a general tendency on the part of the governments not to recognize education as a tool for change, or, on the contrary, to indeed recognize that function and deliberately adopt a negligent attitude implying a rejection of true changes.

The necessary step to overcome this situation is to clarify the general theoretical and practical framework in which these diverse educational practices, both in the formal and the informal sector, should be incorporated to achieve what we mentioned in the introduction: a new concept of education integrating the concept of environment and man's role within it and proceeding from an ethic of respect for life and diversity.

3. The ecological perspective in environmental education and in popular education

Traditional environmental education in Latin America was basically a development of the non-formal sector. In spite of its contributions in calling attention to environmental problems existing on the continent, it frequently remained trapped in declarations of aspirations and in technical problems relating to presentation of the topics, forgetting theoretical internal reflection. On the other hand, although it recognized the relation between economic, social and cultural development and environmental issues, it did not emphasize the human and man-made environmental variables in the same way as it emphasized the natural variables.

Popular education, on the other hand, which is widely practiced in Latin America, and has made multiple contributions in the area of methods, critical evaluation, and in its dedication to political causes of the popular sectors, has nevertheless fragmented its approach to the topic, concentrating its attention more than anything on the human components of the environment. It is only very recently that attention is being called to the importance of integrating other environmental variables besides. Attempts of that nature can be seen, for example, in the *Edu-Acción Ambiental*, an environmental manual published by CEAAL (Ovalles y Viezzer, 1990), in which a certain reductionism is definitely noticeable in its treatment of topics related to the management of natural resources.

Fortunately, efforts have increased today in Latin America both in environmental education and in popular education to revive an integrated vision of the environment in educational activities, taking into account both its man-made as well as its natural human components. Both practices, each from its own standpoint, criticize those who seek control over others and over nature in the process. Moreover, a certain consensus does exist today on educational concepts that depart from a firm theoretical base and address a diversity of subjects. Attention is also being given to more efficient geographical decentralization of formal educational centers (accompanied by reorganization at the state level of agencies concerned with education) to effectively introduce the environmental perspective into all sectors of society. In like manner, it is more or less generally agreed that the non-formal sector should also take advantage of the mass media as well as of groups and family structures that allow education to be integrated into other sectors of daily human life (viz. Lofredo for a more detailed examination).

4. Education in social ecology

The focus and approach to environmental issues, as we have seen above, is diverse, and ranges from those who seek to create a separate discipline to deal with environmental issues (so-called »environmental education«), to those who rather seek an environmentally focused education.

From the angle of social ecology, the positions of environmental education and popular education should converge, admitting the importance of rediscovering the relationship between people and the human, man-made, and natural components of environment without any *a priori* exceptions. In this sense, eco-social education is geared to the creation of links with the environment so that the interaction between man and environment can lead to sustainable development.

The word »education« has two etymological origins: the Latin word »educare«, which means to guide or transmit, but also the word »exducere«, which means to draw out. According to Werthein and Argumedo (1984), education is an intentional social practice; it is a conscious intervention of human beings in the learning of other human beings with the objective of orienting them in a certain direction. Only the first aspect is accented by that definition. Education from a social ecological perspective also has an intentional quality, i.e. that of generating new links with the environment within a particular ethic. Such »guidance«, however, does not signify imposition, but rather »an accompaniment« with specific contributions on the part of the teacher. Social ecological education also takes into consideration the significance of »exducere«, in that it revives knowledge already acquired during the process of socialization in order to integrate it with what other people know, in appreciation of the diversity of approaches and experiences, and accordingly to create new concepts.

Respect for cultural and biological diversity determines the necessity of an ethical position based on the respect for life. It is important to emphasize that education of this nature explicitly states its ethical postulates, and accordingly differs from the traditional position which protects itself within the concept of neutrality. This ethical statement is not synonymous with campaigning or dogmatism. It is rather a personal view of the task of education that can be shared or not.

Within this ethical framework, social ecology has integrated contributions on the part of diverse disciplines (sociology, anthropology, psychology, ecology, biology, human ecology, etc.), and has redesigned them to incorporate specific characteristics differentiating them from the traditional focuses of many of their approaches.

For example, ecology is a science of life, although in traditional education it is quite common for it to appear to be a science of catastrophes. Under that notion it is converted into certain educational practices that favour the chief problems of the planet (destruction of the ozone layer, contamination, indiscriminate deforestation), situations that are not necessarily experienced as problems by the participants. Social ecology, more than emphasizing the great environmental catastrophes, tries to discover the manifestations of life within the immediate environment, as well as to explain the environmental dimensions of social problems, and the social dimensions of environmental problems, as the two are directly connected. It seeks to study and comprehend phenomena of life, the equilibrium of the ecosystems and environmental and social sustainability within a very immediate sphere, the direct sphere of daily life experience.

Contrary to what is frequently found in formal education approaches to environment, social ecology takes a microcosmic approach to daily life, giving priority to local reality. The examination does not proceed from the problems outside the context of local reality, but rather from the group's vision of the issue. This initial focus leads later on to an understanding of the problems on a global scale, and to an appreciation of the importance of a more general perspective that makes it possible to visualize the dimensions of human and environmental interaction.

The study of such a complex and heterogeneous reality is a task that requires contributions on the part of various disciplines, both in the areas of the humanities and biology, as well as in other non-scientific areas of knowledge. The work must therefore be interdisciplinary. The endeavour to synthesize should proceed from the teacher and not be left as it usually is to the exclusive responsibility of the learners.

The role of the teacher is to promote a critical spirit, and to foster research committed to sensitizing people to their reality, enabling them to transform it. Social-ecological education should create awareness not in the sense of telling people what they must, or must not, do as far as concerns their environment, but in the sense of »making people conscious« of what they already know about their environment, the »knowledge close at hand« through daily action. It corresponds with the meaning of acquired »exducere«, unveiling what is hidden, providing space for an explicit look at the perceptions, intuition, experiences and knowledge that every individual acquires in daily life by interacting with his environment.

The educational task from this perspective is a dynamic process in which both educators as well as learners take active part in creating new knowledge and in sharing diverse perspectives of the environment. It is a process of teaching and learning. Teachers should encourage learners to identify the significance of distinct environmental components, to »dissect« them, to analyze the contradictions, to share knowledge, to maintain a critical spirit and to make use of research. In so doing, they will generate true processes of constructive learning.

Education with such a focus has an asymmetric relation (since educators and learners have different knowledge to offer), but is is also reciprocal. Its wealth as a process is that both teachers as well as learners continue to acquire new ideas that lead to activities and practices allowing people to maintain better relations among one another as well as with their environment. Those ideas will work together with other factors (political, economic etc.), to influence social change.

Games constitute a very important component in those processes. Constructive games facilitate communication, since playing allows many situations to be experienced as real. Games provide an atmosphere conducive for people to lay their own particular views »on the carpet« in a direct and pleasant manner. At the same time they promote a style of communication and participation that allows an easier flow of the affective components that intervene in every group process. It is interesting to note that those concepts are very much a part of school in its original sense; the word »school« is derived from a Latin word meaning leisure-time recreation (Giddens, 1991). Not to lose this dimension is to recover human integrity, since *homo sapiens* is also *homo ludens*.

As mentioned above, the process does not end in the creation of new knowledge. There must also be commitment to action that will lead to environmental and social conduct compatible with sustainable development.

To achieve that goal, present educational structures and the institutions that develop formal education will have to be revised. Non-government organizations likewise play an essential role in socio-environmental education. Although their sphere of influence is more restricted from a quantitative standpoint, they have possibilities for working on local or community levels, and opportunities for continuity or access not realized by the national teaching system for various reasons. It is desirable for NGOs in the social, environment, academic and other sectors to design activities within the framework of the general objectives underlying an education in the above sense.

To sum up in conclusion: the foregoing proposition also implies a new way of perceiving the environment; an new way of viewing human beings — as existing within the environment and not above it; a new ethic with environmental components accenting the value of life beyond its utility to humans; a new perspective whose purpose is not to add up reality and homogenize its terms, but rather to recover the potential inherent in cultural and biological diversity; and finally, an education that seeks to revive the Utopian dimension, transcending the limitations and difficulties encountered in the process leading toward change.

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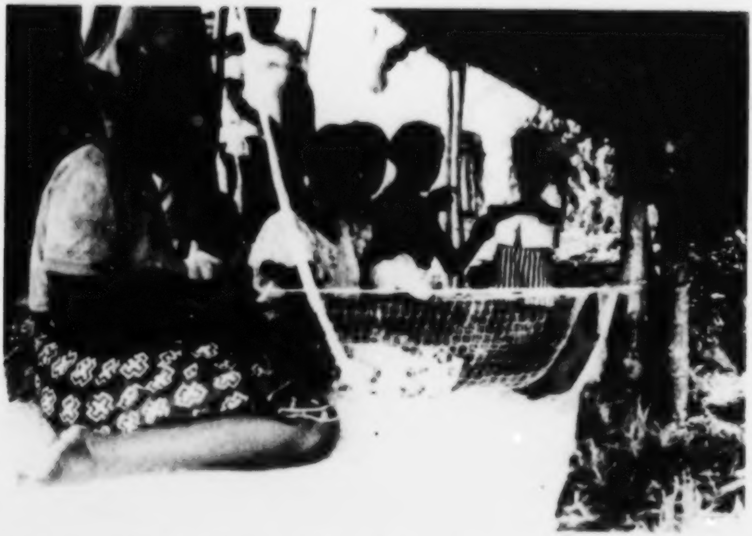

Production of fishing nets in Ste. Marie, Madagascar

This article is a paper presented at a seminar in London in July 1992 by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE). It gives a survey of the activities in England in the field of environmental adult education.

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John Field

Environmental education and training: Reflections on a survey

> *»Education, raising of public awareness and training are linked to virtually all areas in Agenda 21, and even more closely to the ones on meeting basic needs, capacity-building, data and information, science, and the role of major groups.«*
>
> Agenda 21, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio, 14 June 1992

Environmental adult education should be as easy as catching a bus. It regularly receives official support, so much so that practitioners, used to governmental neglect at the best of times, might start worrying about it. From the utterances of local and national politicians to the discussions provoked by the Rio conference, education — including lifelong education — has been seen as fundamental by a bewildering range of governments, ministries, national environmental agencies and campaigning bodies. Agenda 21, the set of proposals adopted by the UN conference on environment and development at Rio, devotes a lengthy chapter to education, public awareness and training. Among many other issues, the chapter urges member governments to »facilitate and support nonformal education activities«, to »promote all kinds of adult education programmes for continuing education in environment and development«, and to foster »new training approaches« including »specific courses aiming at the further training of decision makers«.

More important, out there in the »real world«, among the adults we work with, the environment features regularly on lists of the things which Europeans worry about most. Voluntary bodies in the environmental field report that membership is rising, while their activities are reported daily in the newspapers that most adult educators read. Learning resources are plentiful, including an enormous amount of broadcast material. How much environmental adult education has all this interest encouraged?

On the surface, you could be forgiven for thinking that nothing much is happening. But this impression is quite misleading, even dangerous. A brief survey undertaken in January 1992 by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education's Working Group on Environmental Adult Education threw up many exciting examples of work going on across the country. A brief questionnaire was circulated to NIACE member organizations; the questionnaire left it to respondents to define what they understood by »environmental education and training for adults«. Following this survey, the Working Group organized a seminar in London in July 1992, attended by members from a variety of different providing organizations; the diagram on the following page is intended to show the range of those already involved, and to indicate the potential for synergy and cross-fertilization which might occur from greater partnership between the different providing bodies.

If the 38 organizations who participated in the study are any guide, far more is going on than first meets the eye. Courses on wildlife and the countryside are well-established. New developments in vocational areas such as land management and waste reduction are common in universities and technical education. While the more overtly political kinds of topic are more rare, it is also clear that environmentalist voluntary organizations are playing a major role in what might be called »citizenship education«.

Most existing provision could be described as teaching/learning **about** the environment. Local authority providers, universities and Worker's Educational Association branches offer a wide range of courses in natural history, archaeology, gardening, and local landscape and wildlife issues. Indeed, one Welsh extra-mural department told us that environmental topics accounted for about one-eighth of their entire liberal adult education programme. Some universities offer post-experience diplomas in such fields as Landscape Studies or Conservation and Land Management. Environmental issues also feature in courses on other topics: they are often a focal point in science access courses, particularly those dealing with women and science. In particular, the broadcasting agencies have achieved a great deal in raising public awareness of environmental issues, and encouraging public debate. What is less clear is whether the opportunities exist to gain the skills and information needed to take part in that debate: there is plenty of evidence that most people have a very limited understanding of basic science, let alone an appreciation of why the scientific com-

Who provides environmental adult education and training?

Adult learning in CE classes

Voluntary sector public information and campaigns

Leisure courses (eg at Field Centres)

Formal and informal learning in voluntary groups

Vocational courses in colleges

Government information campaigns

Management training and consultancy

Broadcasting and the press

Trade union education and training

Vocational training in the workplace

munity disagrees over both the scale of the threats to our ecosystem, or the best ways of responding.

Education **for** the environment covers an equally diverse range of provision. In vocational fields, environmental issues are increasingly addressed as a result of EC and other regulation; at least one university provides small business training in this area with support from the European Social Fund. Indeed, there is a growing number of occupations which are concerned with the environment, with a Lead Body setting national standards for National Vocational Qualifications[1]. Trade union education has also focussed increasingly on environmental issues: both explicitly (the Trade Unions Congress has organized an educational programme around its recent pamphlet, **Greening the Workplace**[2] and implicitly (especially in occupational safety and health programmes). Away from the workplace, local adult education centres offered a small number of courses on ecological politics, including »Green Economics«, »Saving the World in Seven Days« and »Reclaiming the River Wear«. However, the survey suggested that adult education and training which sought to foster pro-environmental attitudes and behaviour was relatively small scale, other than in the vocational area where recent legislation — especially from the European Community — has led to a number of programmes around such topics as environmental auditing and management.

Growing numbers of courses are also available **in** the environment. Field studies are hardly new: some of the best-known archaeological excavations, for example, started life as adult classes. One adult class is looking at the varieties of moths in a local wood (changes over the years offer important information about local environmental conditions); a landscape class is publishing its survey of hedgerows in a local history journal. One tutor told us of her class's excitement at discovering over 90 flowering plants in the local shoppers' car park — many of which stemmed from the site's use, over a century earlier, as a farm. Perhaps more than any other subject, the environment offers wonderful opportunities for activity-based learning!

More heartening still, quite a number of organizations have started to develop policies on environmental issues. Ten of the providers in our survey group had a policy on recycling (including two university adult education units which were covered by campus-wide recycling policies). Seven had a policy on the curriculum; most were in the voluntary sector, including several Workers' Educational Association Districts. Two organizations said they had a policy on the environmental implications of their site management generally. Both the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics and the Further Education Unit have encouraged institutional leaders to consider the environmental impact of their total operation, covering both the curriculum and site management.

Of course, the survey also revealed a number of problems. Depressingly, the most common experience was that good work was being lost because of cuts. So far, staff development opportunities in environmental adult education are few and far between. Demand for courses in environmental issues was not as high for the more overtly political areas as for other aspects. Yet most areas of adult learning are affected by similar difficulties, and none of this should obscure the very large amount of local activity that is going on, often unnoticed outside the immediate context or workplace.

Finally, we tried to find out what use was being made of the Environmental Action Fund operated by the Department of the Environment[3]. This fund was created in 1990, to provide financial support for voluntary organizations who undertook environmental projects. According to the Department of the Environment, the 1993 grants will include a number which are designed to strengthen voluntary bodies »through targeted development and training programmes«, and others aimed at *environmental education, information and awareness in order to mobilise action by the general public especially related to energy efficiency and other means of reducing global warning.* (Department of Environment Press Release, 20 July 1992)

Most of our respondents had never heard of the Fund, but three organizations in the survey had applied for grants; and all had been successful. The National Council for Voluntary Organizations, for instance, is using the Fund to develop regional networks of voluntary agencies able to undertake training, consultancy and technical advice, and to stimulate greater participation in public decision-making on environmental questions. While the Environmental Action Fund is aimed mainly at voluntary organizations, it was surprising that most people had never heard of it before our survey.

Practitioners raised a number of issues during the survey, and in the NIACE seminar which followed in July 1992.

- How much demand really exists for environmental education and training, given the largely voluntary status of individuals' participation in adult education and training? Or, more accurately, **for what kinds** of adult education and training is there an effective demand? And do we simply abandon those, probably more overtly political, forms for which no demand exists?

- Can adult education break with its well-entrenched (in the West) consumer orientation? It is clear in Britain that demand exists for courses which bring environmental concerns together with individuals' leisure interests — for example, courses on bird life or urban woodlands.

- Where does environmental education and training belong in the curriculum? Are environmental issues best treated separately, or through the existing subject mix?

- Where do we start? Our societies have only recently become aware that we can no longer ignore our impact on our environment. What are the priorities for educators and trainers of adults? Many in the NIACE survey and seminar identified staff development as the first challenge.

- How can environmental education and training be financed? Resourcing should not be at the cost of other, important forms of provision.

- How can environmental education and training be made accessible and relevant to all? Environmentalism in Britain tends to be the preserve of the well-educated; however, new initiatives now exist which seek to develop environmental education for minority ethnic communities, for literacy students, and other groups (eg ALBSU 1991).

- What kinds of partnerships need to be built? It is clear in Britain, as elsewhere in Europe, that the environmentalist movement has been extraordinarily effective at educating its own members; broadcasting is also of enormous importance. How do we build on these strengths, to benefit from the resources and skills of the public adult education service?

None of these issues is unique to the UK. However, they did arise in a particular context, and their significance will no doubt look different in other parts of the world.

More broadly, NIACE's work in this field has provoked me to reflect upon a number of issues. First among these is the need to raise the visibility of environmental issues across the existing curriculum. Our survey was designed to help identify current good practice. Inevitably, the greatest response came from those trainers and educators who were already interested in environmental issues. Yet there will be many institutions which did not respond to our survey, where hundreds of adult learners are pursuing courses on health and well-being, local economic development, pollution and waste, the natural world, and the management of resources — all topics which directly touch upon environmental matters. Much more might be done to recognize and build on the environmental learning which goes on in the keep fit class, the cookery course, the archeological study tour or the small business training programme. Not to recognize the environmental dimension to these activities means that we devalue their intellectual content, and are unable to learn the elements of good practice that we find within them.

Second, it is my own view that environmentalism raises the question of citizenship. Phrases like »the global citizen« feature in official reports; but what do they mean? Citizenship is centrally concerned with the rights and obligations of individual members of society; but access to relevant environmental information is distributed unequally across our society, as is access to the background knowledge which will help us to make sense of the information, and take appropriate action. Among young people in school, access to at least some basic environmental awareness is now widespread; many governments now require all schools to educate pupils about environmental issues. Among adults, though, there is a growing gap between the environmental competence which is available in the population and the environmental competence required to take any meaningful action. In turn, this competence gap has helped foster a widespread sense of disempowerment, especially in the face of the apparent inconclusiveness and inaccessibility of scientific opinion (Birke 1991).

Third, transition to more sustainable ways of living is a matter of human as well as material resources. Certainly in Britain, there has traditionally been a sharp distinction between vocational training and non-vocational adult education. In developing environmental adult education, this boundary will need to be overcome, with far greater integration and cross-fertilization between different domains of adult learning about sustainability and the environment. Finding more sustainable ways of living is not a simple matter of following a known recipe, but of undertaking a collective search. Scientists are only starting to identify the nature and scale of the environmental challenges facing our planet, and are far from agreement on these issues; there is enourmous and fundamental controversy about the very concept of sustainability. What is clear is that more sustainable forms of living are possible, and that they will depend on the more intensive use of human resources, through the delegation of as many decisions and activities as our complex economy allows to the local level. The quality of human resources at all levels is therefore vital.

Fourth, we may need to examine the structures and content of our adult education and training offering in the light of the environmentalist challenge. Adult learning about environmental matters seems to me a good example of what Paul Bélanger describes as a »silent explosion of the demand for adult education«: that is, a sharp rise in the adult learning dimensions of any solution to contemporary problems, but not always presented in ways which are recognized by the existing delivery systems for adult education and training (Bélanger 1992: 8 - 9). In the case of the ecological challenge, men and women have sought new knowledge and capabilities through involvement in voluntary organizations rather than from the traditional knowledge-providers. Perhaps this is an illustration of a more general trend among the new social movements in the post-industrial nations; if so, it implies a major challenge to the institutional boundaries of adult education and training.

Enhancing and improving our environment is arguably our greatest challenge. To maximise the contribution of continuing education, we will need to review our entire curriculum: to draw in all our tutors, whether they are teaching archaeology, car maintenance or computing — all subjects where a greener curriculum is both desirable and possible. We will need to keep questions of equity and access at the forefront of the debate: adults are already falling behind the young, both in their general understanding of the problems and in their awareness of possible solutions; little wonder that so many of them feel excluded and powerless. At local level, there is enough happening to confirm that adult educators and trainers have an important contribution to make. What is now clearly needed is an energetic and creative effort to deliver a great deal more in the future.

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Notes:

1. Draft NVQs and SVQs in environmental conservation have been published by the Council for Occupational Standards and Qualifications in Environment Conservation (COSQUEC), The Red House, Pillows Green, Staunton, Gloucester, GL19 3NU.
2. **Greening the Workplace** (1991) is available from the TUC, Congress House, Great Russell St, London WC1B 3LS.
3. Details available from Colin Morris, Department of the Environment, Room A131A, Romney House, 43 Marsham St, London SW1P 3PY.

The Independent Sectors NETWORK. Number 23, February 1993

This is the »monthly Newsletter which monitors and reports on follow-up activities to the Earth Summit«. It is published by The Centre for Our Common Future.

Copies are available from:

The Centre for Our Common Future, Palais Wilson, 52 Rue de Pâquis, CH-1201 Geneva, Switzerland.

Production of agricultural tools (CEFAM/Kaonkolo), Madagascar

In Papua-New Guinea large areas of rainforest are being destroyed at an alarming rate. How can this process be halted? The author makes a plea for ecological education based on the active participation of the local population. This article is a reprint from the journal »Entwicklung und ländlicher Raum« 1/93.

Roland Stein

Papua-New Guinea: Sustainable rainforest cultivation and environmental education

Hardly noticed by the world at large, large areas of rainforest in Papua-New Guinea are being exploited and irreversibly destroyed at an alarming rate. What were once sustainable, indigenous forms of forest management have now become unbalanced and a controlled forest industry is still wishful thinking. Almost all forests are owned by subsistence farmers. This means that chances exist for ecological awareness and decision-making processes which would not be possible in other tropical forest nations. Processes which cannot take place without respect for cultural diversity and the willingness to participate in mutual learning.

The latest World Bank report »Development and the Environment« comes to the conclusion that many environmental problems cannot be solved without the active participation of the local population (World Bank 1992). If one based this assessment on bilateral and multilateral environmental protection projects of development cooperation as a measuring rod for long-term success, then one could regard the majority of projects as having failed.

The marginalisation and destruction of traditional environmental knowledge and the culture-specific values and behaviour patterns associated with it, were and still are furthered — if not triggered off — by the import of technology and know-how from the industrialised countries to regions of the so-called »Third World«. Ecological sustainability and socio-cultural acceptance fall victim to the pseudo-success of speedy operations and technocratic transactions.

The situation in Papua-New Guinea

Against the background of an apparently uncontestable hierarchy of international economic and trade structures, Papua-New Guinea emerges as a new El Dorado for the rapidly diminishing raw material, tropical timber: with a planned annual commercial felling of 200000 hectares (Stein 1992a), explosive population growth, erroneous »Brandschwend-Feldbau« and increased new forms of land use (mineral resources, agroindustry etc.), there remains no chance, in the medium term, for the highly diverse rainforests. Genetic erosion, degradation of subsistence agriculture, climatic change, rural exodus and urban poverty will be the results. For the time being, poverty is still the exception in Papua-New Guinea.

Environmental protection in practise: Traditional forest owners learn how anthropogenic grasslands can be reforested.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

And ultimatley it is the rainforest which nourishes the subsistence farmer.

With the help of Australian development aid, this rainforest is presently being mapped and evaluated for its commercial potential (Barry 1992). Economic potential from forest by-products (non-timber) obtained from sustainable cultivation is not being taken into consideration. A detailed map of forest resources in the hands of a corruptible Ministry of Forestry and the bribe-happy international timber industry — a further example of development failure?

What is the opinion of the owners of this »commercial potential«?

Traditional land ownership — The chance for providing for the future

In contrast to many other nation state communities, land ownership in Papua-New Guinea is settled according to traditional customary law: in this way approximately 95 percent of the total land area today belongs to subsistence farmers and the clan and village communities. Ignorance, isolation and false perception and thinking — but also status-seeking, greed, indifference and materialistic thinking learnt from Western models, frequently results in traditional forest owners surrendering their rights for managing and exploiting the forests for cash and a great many promises to the government and their foreign concessionaries.

Generally they are unable to foresee the long-term impacts of their decisions and invariably feel cheated after deforestation and robbed of their livelihood.

Could one introduce environmental education here with the aim of training the forest owners in problem identification and enabling them, in the long term, to make the right decisions concerning the future of their children's forests? My experience with interested, highly motivated forest farmers thirsty for knowledge proves encouraging for such an approach.

Comprehensive understanding through intercultural learning

Interaction and interdependence between human culture and the rainforest environment have evolved over thousands of years in Papua-New Guinea (Thomas 1991). Hunting, collecting and rotating cultivation (»Brandschwend-Feldbau«) have changed the rainforest in large areas of Papua-New Guinea. The culture-specific perception and interpretation patterns, socio-cultural forms of organisation and site-related management technology — all arising from the man-environment relation — constitute in their totality the cultural identity of an ethnic group.

How therefore can mutual learning between people of differing origins and cultures commence, develop and finally end in a solution-oriented project?

The foreigner is first of all required to bring with him openness, time and the willingness to enter into completely new and foreign situations. A participatory and observant approach to other forms of cultural life style and genuine interest promote an indispensable feeling of trust. Without this trust — based on genuine promises and realistic expectations — effective education work is not possible. Effectivity must also mean here, meeting and informing the target group regularly and by promoting particularly interested and motivated people making the group capable in the long term of carrying the work itself.

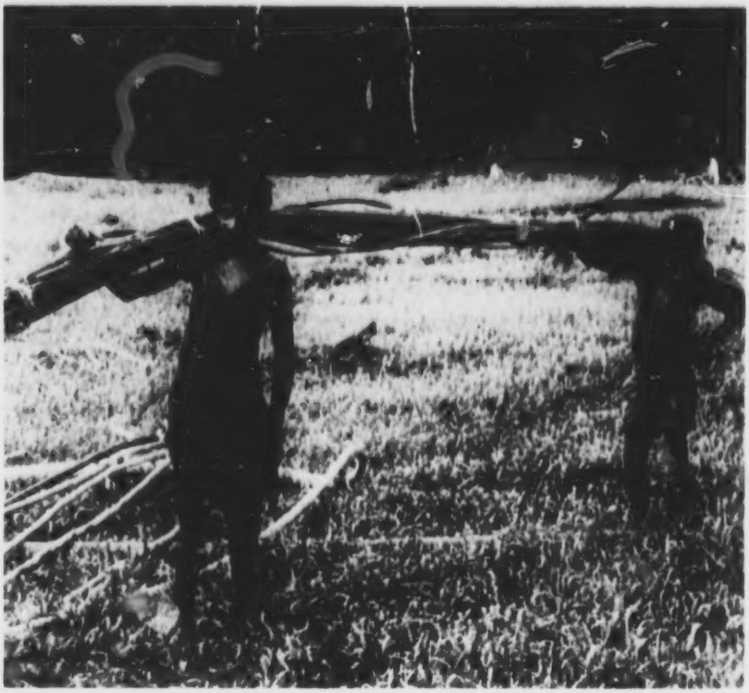
Only through becoming acquainted with and understanding the environment, concerns, motivation, outlook on life and demands of the target group concerned, can the foreigner order his own intentions, projections and empirical values, question them and, if necessary, correct them. At the same time he is mediator between two worlds and has the task of introducing and elucidating the new dimensions of a larger and more complex world to his partners.

Joint planning and responsibility

The joint planning of environmental protection projects begins with problem identification and an analysis of the current situation: »rapid rural appraisal« alone does not suffice. Without a great deal of time available, the ability to listen and the active integration of those involved, it is not possible to comprehend the current circumstances. Dirty clothing, sweat and unaccustomed food should not be obstacles in going to the site, taking part in meetings and eating together. EDP-based flow charts and system analyses alone will not give a correct picture of reality.

Even in the preparation of project-related teaching material, culture-specific perception and interpretation patterns of the target groups have to be taken into consideration. A preliminary testing of material with different categories of people of the project partner brought astounding and unexpected results. Quite often I had to completely revise auditive and visual materials.

In order to create awareness for responsibility on the part of the indigenous partners, traditional and modern leaders of the target group have to be sought from the start and be given responsibility for various areas of the project. In Papua-New Guinea these would generally be the Bikman (village head), the clan leaders and young people with Western education. As decision-makers, mediators, representatives and advisors they fulfill key functions in the community and thereby in the project too (Stein 1991).



Non-timber products from the rainforest: In Papua-New Guinea there are several types of rattan (Kanda) which could be used in the furniture industry.

At an advanced stage of such cooperation work, we began to train particularly motivated persons as »field officers« and »mobile team members«; as members of a »mobile village awareness campaign« they gave instruction on the environment and problem identification, within a wide radius of their villages, to people from their own »Lain« (ethnic group) and to neighbouring ethnic groups. The joint evaluation and, if necessary, correction of strategic-didactic parts of the total project became common practise.

One should never fail to introduce and discuss progress on the project and obstacles experienced, at regular intervals, at a meeting of the whole village. Transparency is also essential in the written documentation of project development: documents in a language not understood by the majority of the village population, miss their mark. Oral presentation within the framework of a suitable traditional event or a village theatre group should always be offered in addition to the written documentation.

Sustainable rainforest management at multiple levels

Integrated environmental protection projects have to be sustainable at several levels. It is not just a question, as it has been up until now, of economic sustainability but also of ecological and socio-cultural sustainability as equally important factors for long-term success.

The joint realization, evaluation and improvement of strategies aims at long-term protection of an endangered environment with at the same time restrictive and self-controlled management by the traditional land owners. The recognition and development of renewable »raw materials« plays a decisive role here. We were able, together with the forest owners, to identify following »alternative« sources of income and to make them, in part, marketable:

- insect culture (butterflies, beetles etc.)
- orchid cultivation (export of seed)
- ecological tourism
- permanent forest cultivation with highly selective, controlled felling (removal of single trees to preserve the forest stand) and with local processing and marketing
- non-timber products (forest by-products) from the forest (nuts, medicinal plants, wild animals, wild fruits, rattan etc.)
- breeding of wild animals (meat production)
- diversification of marketable plants.

Latest developments in the forestry sector in Papua-New Guinea reveal that illegal deforestation, smuggling of tropical wood and the forging of species protection documents are on the advance (World Wide Fund for Nature, 1992). Only a new, mutual understanding of development cooperation, the creation of awareness for environment problems and the development of a feeling of responsibility among those peoples concerned, can halt in the long term the destruction of the rainforest through industrial control. What is sought is the concrete utopia of sustainable forest management at multiple levels whilst at the same time preserving the cultural identity of the indigenous people.

D. Gachuhi, B. Matiru and A. Owano:
Designing and writing distance.
Education materials for basic education
and development training programmes

From 1985 to 1991, the German Foundation for International Development, Education, Science and Documentation Centre conducted a series of workshops on writing and designing distance education materials for basic education and development training programmes.
This evaluation study on the programm sequence is available from:
German Foundation for International Development (DSE), Hans-Böckler-Str. 5, 53225 Bonn.

Ste. Marie, Madagascar

The following document is the Charter which was accepted on 12 June 1992 in Rio at a plenary meeting by the International Forum of NGOs and Social Movements.

ICAE

Treaty on environmental education for sustainable societies and global responsibility

(This treaty, as in education, is a dynamic process and should therefore promote reflection, debate and amendments.)

We signatories, people from all parts of the globe, are devoted to protecting life on earth and recognize the central role of education in shaping values and social action. We commit ourselves to a process of educational transformation aimed at

involving ourselves, our communities and nations in creating equitable and sustainable societies. In so doing we seek to bring new hope to our small, troubled, but still beautiful planet.

1. Introduction

We consider that environmental education for equitable sustainability is a continuous learning process based on respect for all life. Such education affirms values and actions which contribute to human and social transformation and ecological preservation. It fosters ecologically sound and equitable societies that live together in interdependence and diversity. This requires individual and collective responsibility at the local, national and planetary level.

We consider that preparing ourselves for the required changes depends on advancing collective understanding of the systemic nature of the crises that threaten the world's future. The root causes of such problems as increasing poverty, environmental deterioration and communal violence can be found in the dominant socio-economic system. This system is based on over-production and under-consumption and inadequate conditions to produce for the great majority.

We consider that inherent in the crisis are an erosion of basic values, and the alienation and non-participation of almost all individuals in the building of their own future. It is of fundamental importance that the world's communities design and work out their own alternatives to existing policies. Such alternatives include the abolition of those programmes of development, adjustment and economic reform which maintain the existing growth model with its devastating effects on the environment and its diverse species, including the human one.

We consider that environmental education should urgently bring about change in the quality of life and a greater consciousness of personal conduct, as well as harmony among human beings and between them and other forms of life.

2. Some principles of environmental education for equitable and sustainable societies

1. Education is the right of all; we are all learners and educators.

2. Environmental education, whether formal, non-formal or informal, should be grounded in critical and innovative thinking in any place or time, promoting the transformation and construction of society.

3. Environmental education is both individual and collective. It aims to develop local and global citizenship with respect for self-determination and the sovereignty of nations.

4. Environmental education is not neutral but is value-based. It is an act for social transformation.

5. Environmental education must involve a holistic approach and thus an inter-disciplinary focus in the relation between human beings, nature and the universe.

6. Environmental education must stimulate solidarity, equality, and respect for human rights involving democratic strategies and an open climate of cultural interchange.

7. Environmental education should treat critical global issues, their causes and inter-relationship in a systemic approach and within their social and historical contexts. Fundamental issues in relation to development and the environment, such as

population, health, peace, human rights, democracy, hunger, degradation of flora and fauna, should be perceived in this manner.

8. Environmental education must facilitate equal partnerships in the processes of decision-making at all levels and stages.

9. Environmental education must recover, recognize, respect, reflect and utilize indigenous history and local cultures, as well as promote cultural, linguistic and ecological diversity. This implies acknowledging the historical perspective of native peoples as a way to change ethnocentric approaches, as well as the encouragement of bilingual education

10. Environmental education should empower all peoples and promote opportunities for grassroots democratic change and participation. This means that communities must regain control of their own destiny.

11. Environmental education values all different forms of knowledge. Knowledge is diverse, cumulative and socially produced and should not be patented or monopolized.

12. Environmental education must be designed to enable people to manage conflicts in just and humane ways.

13. Environmental education must stimulate dialogue and cooperation among individuals and institutions in order to create new lifestyles which are based on meeting everyone's basic needs regardless of ethnic, gender, age, religious, class, physical or mental differences.

14. Environmental education requires a democratization of the mass media and its commitment to the interests of all sectors of society. Communication is an inalienable right and the mass

media must be transformed into one of the main channels of education, not only by disseminating information on an egalitarian basis, but also through the exchange of means, values and experiences.

15. Environmental education must integrate knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and actions. It should convert every opportunity into an educational experience for sustainable societies.

16. Environmental education must help develop an ethical awareness of all forms of life with which humans share this planet, respect all life cycles and impose limits on humans' exploitation of other forms of life.

3. Plan of action

The organizations that sign this Treaty will implement policies to:

1. Turn the declarations of this Treaty and other Treaties produced by the Conference of Citizens' Groups during the RIO 92 process, into documents for use in formal education systems and in education programmes of social movements and social organizations.

2. Work on environmental education for sustainable societies together with groups that draft other Treaties approved during RIO 92.

3. Make comparative studies of the treaties of citizens' groups and those produced by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and use the conclusions in educational activities.

4. Work on the principles of this Treaty from the perspective of local situations, necessarily relating them to the state of the planet, creating a consciousness for transformation.

5. Promote knowledge, policies, methods, and practices in all areas of formal, informal and non-formal environmental education and for all age groups.

6. Promote and support training for environmental conservation, preservation and management, as part of the exercise of local and planetary citizenship.

7. Encourage individuals and groups to take positions, and institutions to make policies, that constantly review the coherence between what is said and what is done, as well as the values of our cultures, traditions and history.

8. Circulate information about people's wisdom and memory, and support and inform about appropriate initiatives and technologies in relation to the use of natural resources.

9. Promote gender co-responsibility in relation to production, reproduction and the maintenance of life.

10. Stimulate and support the creation and strengthening of ecologically responsible producers' and consumers' associations and commercial networks, that provide ecologically sound alternatives.

11. Sensitize populations so that they establish Peoples' Councils for Environmental Management and Ecological Action to research, discuss, inform and decide on environmental problems and policies.

12. Create educational, judicial, organizational and political conditions to guarantee that governments allocate a significant part of their budgets to education and the environment.

13. Promote partnership and cooperation among NGOs, social movements, and the UN agencies (UNESCO, UNEP, FAO, and others) at national, regional and international levels to jointly set priorities for action in education, environment and development.

14. Promote the creation and strengthening of national, regional and international networks for joint action between organizations of the South, North, East and West with a planetary perspective (e.g. foreign debt; human rights, peace, global warming, population, contaminated products).

15. Ensure that the media becomes an educational instrument for the preservation and conservation of natural resources presenting a plurality of views and reliable and contextualized information; and stimulate the broadcasting of programmes generated by local communities.

16. Promote an understanding of the causes of consumerist behavior and act to change practices and the systems that maintain them.

17. Search for self-managed, economically and ecologically appropriate alternatives of production which contribute to an improvement in the quality of life.

18. Act to eradicate sexism, racism and any other prejudices, as well as contribute to the promotion of cultural diversity, territorial rights and self-determination.

19. Mobilize formal and non-formal institutions of higher education in support of teaching, research and extension towards the community in environmental education, and the creation, in each University, of interdisciplinary centres for the environment.

20. Strengthen social organizations and movements in order to enhance the exercise of citizenship and an improvement in the quality of life and the environment.

21. Assure that ecological organizations popularize their activities and that communities incorporate ecological issues in everyday life.

22. Establish criteria for the approval of education projects for sustainable societies, discussing social priorities with funding agencies.

4. Coordination, monitoring and evaluation systems

All signatories of this Treaty agree to:

1. Distribute and promote the Treaty on Environmental Education for Sustainable Societies and Global Responsibility in all countries, through joint campaigns by NGOs, social movements and others.

2. Stimulate and create organizations and groups of NGOs and social movements to initiate, implement, follow, and evaluate the elements of this Treaty.

3. Produce materials to publicise this Treaty and its unfolding into educational action, in the form of texts, educational materials,

courses, research, cultural events, media programmes, fairs of popular creativity, electronic mail, and other means.

4. Form an international coordination group to give continuity to the proposals in this Treaty.

5. Stimulate, create and develop networks of environmental educators.

6. Ensure the 1st Planetary Meeting of Treaty of Environmental Education for Sustainable Societies is held within three years.

7. Coordinate action to support social movements which are working for improving the quality of life, extending effective international solidarity.

8. Foster links between NGOs and social movements to review their strategies and programmes on environment and education.

5. Groups to be involved

This Treaty is aimed at:

1. Organizations of social movements — ecologist, women's, youth, ethnic, farmers', union, neighbourhood, artistic groups, and others.

2. NGOs committed to grassroots social movements.

3. Professional educators interested in establishing programmes related to environmental issues in formal education systems and other educational activities.

4. Those responsible for the mass media who are ready to accept the challenge of openness and democracy, thus initiating a new concept of mass communication.

5. Scientists and scientific institutions that take ethical positions and are sympathetic to the work of social movements and organizations.

6. Religious groups interested in working with social organizations and movements.

7. Local and national governments able to act in tune and in partnership with the aims of this Treaty.

8. Business people committed to working within a rationale of recovery, conservation and improvement of the environment and the quality of life.

9. Alternative communities that experience new lifestyles in harmony with the principles and aims of this Treaty.

6. Resources

All signatories of this Treaty are committed to:

1. Allocating a significant part of their resources to the development of educational programmes related to an improvement of the environment and quality of life.

2. Demanding that governments allocate a significant percentage of Gross National Product to supporting programmes of environmental education in all sectors of public administration, with the direct participation of NGOs and social movements.

3. Proposing economic policies that stimulate business to develop and apply appropriate technology and create environmental education programmes for the community, and as part of personnel training.

4. Encouraging funding agencies to prioritize and allocate significant resources to environmental education and ensure its presence in projects they approve wherever possible.

5. Contributing to the formation of a cooperative and decentralized global banking system for NGOs and social movements that will use part of its resources for educational programmes and at the same time be an exemplary exercise in using financial resources.

Background to the Treaty

The aim of the Treaty on Environmental Education for Sustainable Societies and Global Responsibility is to elicit the commitment of all active and interested people to a series of principles.

The process that led to the drafting of this Treaty can be described in the following stages:

I.

The elaboration of a Charter on Environmental Education in four languages, with the subsequent collection and systematization of comments improving and modifying it from five continents between August 1991 and March 1992.

II.

In March 1992, the then Charter on Environmental Education was introduced at the 4th Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) in New York where it was redrafted by the NGO Education Working Group, which expanded it not only in terms of its concepts but also in its format and the composition of the group responsible for its development. It thus took on the characteristics of a Treaty, an international agreement to be signed by individuals and organizations concerned with education.

Guidelines were given by the NGO Coordination Group for UNCED for the drafting of documents that contained the following sections: Introduction, Principles, Plan of Action, Coordination and Monitoring Mechanisms, Groups to be Involved, and Resources. The first two sections were discussed in New York.

III.

In April/May 1992 the texts drafted in New York were once again circulated internationally, thereby completing the drafts of the other four sections.

Finally this text was translated into four languages and printed for discussion in the Journey on Environmental Education in the context of RIO/92.

IV.

During the Journey in June 1992 a last stage in the drafting of the text led to a final version after 14 hours of discussion in plenary sessions and workshops, and many hours of incorporating and editing the additional proposals into the text. This version was then translated into the four languages adopted by the International NGO Forum.

The official launch of the Treaty took place on 7 June 1992, during an Eco-Carnival Parade with the participation of 2000 children from the Samba School, Flowers for Tomorrow, Brazil.

On 9 June the Treaty was presented to the plenary session of the International NGO Forum, after which the group met to discuss specific points which still required consensus. Some additional comments were made in the plenary and are included in an annex, reflecting the start of a new stage of implementing the Treaty which began in Rio. The process then also started to collect the signatures of those supporting and committed to the implementation of the Treaty.

V.

On 12 June the Treaty was accepted in a plenary meeting by the International Forum of NGOs and Social Movements.

An international commission was set up to implement the treaty.

Green Globe Yearbook
of International Co-operation on Environment and Development 1993.
The Green Globe Yearbook is a yearly publication established in 1992. It contains articles by leading experts providing facts, figures and evaluations on the results, impediments and challenges of international cooperation as well as key data concerning the most important international agreements and laws in environment and development and inter- and non-governmental organisations in this area.
For information, please contact:
Oxford University Press, Saxon Way West, Corby, Northamptonshire, NN 18 9ES, United Kingdom.

Vohipeno, Madagascar

In October 1992 the first follow-up conference of UNCED took place in Toronto. Reinhold Lob takes a critical look at the course and results of this meeting which was organised by UNESCO, UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and the International Chamber of Commerce.
Professor Dr. Reinhold Lob is Director of the Centre for Environment Education at the University of Essen and German representative in IEEP, the International Environment Programme (UNEP).
This article is a reprint from the journal UNESCO Heute Extra, 1992/3.

Reinhold E. Lob

Environmental education after Rio — a »superconference with exotics«

Three months after UNCED, the 2. United Nations Environment Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the first conference to follow on the subjects environmental education, environment information and sustainable development took place in October 1992 in Toronto. Approximately 3000 participants from 64 countries took part at this ECO-ED (Ecological Education) meeting. 500 individual contributions (lectures, symposia, round-tables, films, videos etc.) were offered.

The organisers were UNESCO, the UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme) and the International Chamber of Commerce. Hosts were the North American Society for Environmental Education in conjunction with several Canadian organisations. Almost 50 further organisations were involved in the preparation. The entire top management of UNESCO, UNEP and UNCED was present.

During the opening session the increasingly dangerous ecological situation of the earth was presented — with its continuing explosive population growth, increasing poverty in large areas of the world, greater environmental impact through the industrialised countries as well as desertification and deforestation processes in the developing countries. At the same time the wastage of world resources by a few rich countries was deplored. A fundamental movement towards development strategies of survival is still hardly recognisable in practise. Basically, the problems are now familiar to all, the level of awareness has increased world-wide — yet there is still a lack of practical action at all levels. The ECO-ED conference wanted to appeal to the area of education here, yet it set more of a counterpoint.

Problems of credibility

Who called upon whom in Toronto? It was — as always in the last twenty years — the well-nourished, white Anglo-American executive class residing in first-class hotels in Toronto who garnished »their superconference« with a few, colourful »exotics« (»from all around the world«) from Africa, Asia and Latin America and even let a few American Indians perform their rhythmical chants at the opening and closing ceremonies: the »noble native« as fig-leaf for their own inaction. The »leading world power« USA had just shown in Rio what it held of environmental protection: the USA boycotted Rio. Particularly indicative of the lop-sided state of this conference was the morning plenary session on 18 October on ethical questions of a world-wide environmental education: An eight-man committee on the stage — impeccably dressed and styled — was completely made up of representatives from Anglo-American society and brought a succession of papers on the principles of changing the ethical basis and lifestyle which prompted one Indian participant from the audience to comment at the end of the debate: »In the name of the earth — I forgive you your sins!« The speech of Claus Nobel — a member of the Swedish Nobel family — sounded more honest; as man from the business world he pressed for a speedy and fundamental reorientation of our Western economic system.

The south has its say at the end

At the plenary session of the final day, representatives of the developing countries were finally given a hearing. They came from India, the Philippines and Columbia and reported on environmental education and development activities at the community level. The working report from India made it clear that it is particularly important in rural areas to apply modern, conservation-oriented technology in such a way that social structures are not destroyed. This was demonstrated through the example of solar technology in the village situation: through small, easy-to-operate solar energy stations the people can now have light in the evenings (without using oil or kerosene), cook their meals and run their small handicraft businesses. In this way the felling of trees and shrubs is stopped and desertification checked. At the same time the village remains independent of foreign energy concerns. What is needed therefore are »small technologies« which promote local or regional development and practical environmental protection and which preserve traditional social structures or at least change them only slowly.

Double standard of conference philosophy

The practical reality of the Toronto Conference reflects the double standard of its »philosophy«: in fully air-conditioned rooms with constant artificial lighting (Metro Toronto Convention Centre), mountains of disposable plastic plates piled up and enormous quantities of paper were distributed among the (conference) people. Participants had to decide from a complex mass of events — seminars, symposia and lectures which usually took place at the same time. To recognise a certain structure here required at least half a day studying the thick (plastic) conference kit which every participant was given. As a result it is not possible to give a summary of the content of the conference — one can only select and mention individual contributions.

Very impressive yet at the same time depressing was the lecture of John Baldwin (Eugene University/Oregon, USA and President Designate of the North American Society for Enviromental Education) on radiation damage caused by the nuclear reactor accident in Chernobyl. Last year a Russian-American team carried out a new radiation control survey with the aim of informing schools, kindergartens and local authorities on the true extent of danger and possible protective measures for everyday life: public environmental education on the subject radioactivity for those affected by the huge disaster.

A »curriculum fair« ran parallel to the lecture programme together with various exhibitions and a film and video festival. A »green« market was present of course too, although this was rather meagre and would have been surpassed by a similar event in any middle-sized German town. With such a profusion of events it was not surprising that at many sessions and media presentations the number of participants could be counted on five fingers. Instead of bringing together enthusiatic environmental educators from all over the world, the overflow of participants and events often led to isolation and loneliness.

Environmental education and economy — a new step

The Toronto Conference did take a new step however: for the first time — when matters of education, information and training were discussed — representatives from the world of business took part and several working groups were devoted to the areas »environmental education and the economy«. In such a working group, for example, the efforts of Canadian Airlines in finding ecological solutions in the areas of energy and waste were presented. From Mexico too there was a report on the attempt to influence the business sphere with information and education measures for more environmental protection. Thus in the framework of the UNESCO programme this very decisive step was taken for the first time — a step which has long been taken in Germany. It is exactly in this point however that a particular weakness of the conference comes to light: although it is generally well-known that Central Europe — especially Germany — is one of the most active regions in the world in the areas of environmental education in schools, public environmental awareness, environmental legislation and practical progress in the sphere of industry and environmental technology, this region was hardly represented in the programme. This fact also reflects Anglo-American arrogance.

As sole European contribution in this subject area, I reported on the »European Environmental Academy« in Borken which has been working successfully for several years now in the area of bridgebuilding between environmental protection and the economy. The discussions which took place in this context clearly showed that in North America there have as yet been no equivalent initiatives. Germany is probably the leader in this area of quality vocational adult education in environmental protection. In North America — particularly in the USA — a debate on »green marketing« has now got underway however. Questions concerning the labelling of relevant products play a decisive role here. There is the »green mark«, an »ecological logo«, on American products — comparable to the German blue environment angel. In the environmental labelling of products one would like to go a step further however: in addition to today's usual listing of contents, an »environment report card« would provide data on the extent of impact on air, water and soil as well as the intensity of energy and material used in the production, transport, consumption and disposal of this product. The consumer thus receives an »ecological rundown« on the product and can compare with others.

The representative of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) emphasized at the final meeting the absolute necessity for more information and educational work on the entire business scene in the industrialised countries. A first decisive step in the bridging of ecology and economy at an international level appears to have been taken. Confrontation has given way to dialogue.

After the superconferences come the practical experts

Although it is hardly possible for an individual participant such as myself to review such a conference revelling in profusion and ultimately to pass judgement on it, it is however my impression that there has to be an end to such superconferences. Particularly the unjustifiable Anglo-American domination should be stopped. A network of regional workshops with real practical experts would probably serve the purpose of passing on applied environmental education work more aptly.

UNESCO and UNEP would be well advised here to distance themselves from such US-inspired conference shows.

We are publishing here the Resolution of the Bensheimer Kreis, the umbrella organisation of more than 33 German development NGOs, passed on 25 March 1992 on the subject »Environment and Development«. It looks at the ecological situation of the ONE WORLD, names causes and perspectives and makes demands based thereon. The Institute for International Cooperation works actively in the Bensheimer Kreis.

Bensheimer Kreis

Resolution on environment and development

1. Ecological situation of our »One World«

Never before have human beings so deeply interfered with nature as today. For the first time man is jeopardizing his own survival. For the first time he is handing over the earth to his children and grandchildren with global damages. This is proved for instance by the increased incidence of skin cancer in Chile caused by the damaged ozone layer, the alarm by NASA scientists in February 1992 about the acute danger to the ozone layer above the northern hemisphere or the warning of New Zealand doctors not to stay too long in the open anymore. The most severe natural catastrophes are occurring at shorter and shorter intervals in different parts of the world. (Examples: the most severe drought in the USA in 1988 since the meteorologic measuring system was started there in 1821 or the most severe droughts of this century in India and China in the same year.) Six of the ten hottest years occurred in the 80ies since direct climate measurements were commenced 130 years ago. The agreement between generations symbolized by the words, »we have only borrowed the earth from our grandchildren«, is being sacrificed for the prevailing targets of economic and technological growth and consumer patterns.

The environment crisis is closely connected with the development crisis in the North and South. Never before has it been said that a high standard of living is only reserved for **one** part of the world, i.e. the industrial countries, and cannot be attained by the rest of the world. The living standard now prevailing in the industrial countries cannot be kept up world-wide which means, **we** in the North must curtail our habits and restrict ourselves. Never before did we have to admit that the world-wide extension of production methods and the life style of a minority would lead to the breakdown of the global ecological system. Never before have human beings exterminated so many species of animals and plants per day.

We cannot divide the world into two parts — one-part-developed and one-part-underdeveloped. All countries in North and South are closely inter-linked and suffering together under a fundamentally wrong development. On a national level the role model for an ecological and socially viable development concept is still missing. To find and implement it on a democratic basis is the main task of mankind today. Millions of people in industrial and developing countries are already suffering from the consequences of a damaged environment. While in the North many people do not want to acknowledge the damage already existing (for instance health damage, dying forests and damage to buildings), in the South whole groups of people are hard hit, that is, they are being displaced physically (so-called environmental refugees). Some are reacting by taking refuge in the Western World asking for political asylum. We have to fear the migration of large groups of people, famines and distribution conflicts. A troubled future lies ahead of us if far-reaching changes are not going to be made soon.

2. Causes

The majority of people in the North and the South employ production methods and follow consumer patterns using up natural resources that cannot be replaced. Especially the industrial countries, as minority of the world population, are responsible for the main consumption of natural resources and the major coal, oil and gas as was formed in a period of geological history equivalent to the time that has elapsed from the birth of Christ until today. Within a few days as much carbon dioxide is being emitted as was in former times converted by photosynthesis in the atmosphere over thousands of years. (Only this process, lasting many thousands of years, has made human life possible.)

On a world-wide basis the real costs of using up nature and environmental damages are not included in the prices or only to a limited extent (externalisation of environmental costs). Thanks to cheap energy costs and other externalized environmental costs production methods are being continued that are detrimental to the environment. They use up irreplaceable resources, and place repair of damages at a later stage ahead of avoiding damages at the beginning. This is especially true for industrial countries because of their enormous consumption of resources and energy per capita. One of many examples is intensive agricultural cultivation using large amounts of fertilizers and pesticides yielding higher crops per acre but contributing to long-term damages. The practice of these methods has not only promoted excessive production but has, to a large extent, damaged the environment, and especially polluted drinking water. As far as possible it can only be cleaned again by waterworks using large-scale purifying methods, if it is possible at all.

In developing countries it is poverty which is primarily responsible for the problem of externalized environmental costs, i.e. a fight for survival which forces people to ignore the protection of nature. The best example are the millions of people in the Third World who can only find firewood or claim arable land by destroying forests. They cannot pay for their firewood but only a little later they, and others, have to foot the bill by having to cope with lower ground-water levels, erosion and changes in rainfall and climate. The process is aggravated by the debt problem. In order to obtain foreign currencies for the debt service, the developing countries again increase the exploitation of nature (examples: export of tropical wood, export of pig iron, which is produced by means of charcoal coming from tropical forests which are not being reforested).

The elite in the developing countries pursue a political stategy orientating according to the model of development and the consumer patterns of the North and do not take into consideration the basic needs of their respective majorities of population. Traditional ecological patterns of production, permitting an economical utilization of natural resources, are neglected or disregarded respectively. The imitation of Western production and consumer patterns is followed by social inequality and economical polarization. The chance to create the social precondition for a deceleration of the population growth is missed thereby. The wish for children and procreation are so complex in their social and individual dimensions that there are no simple technocratic solutions for the decrease of the rapid population growth. Family planning programmes alone will not significantly alter the reproductive behaviour of people in the South because they depend on a multitude of economic, social and cultural factors.

3. Perspectives

We live today in an interdependent world that is more and more linked in political, economical, ecological and cultural areas. Never have national borders been of so little importance, never, in peacetime, has national sovereignty been questioned to such a degree in matters of armament, violation of human rights or damages to the environment.

In spite of all obstacles and setbacks, like for instance growing hostility to foreigners in Northern countries, there is increasing awareness that we all live in »One World« which requires a »Weltinnenpolitik« (global interior politics). The presupposition tenaciously maintained for a long time that there is indissoluble contradiction between the preservation of the environment and economic growth has been overcome, at least verbally. The growing external pressure on states, like for example, to observe human rights and respect minorities, is equal to the pressure on each citizen to measure his own interests and possibilities more and more by international and global standards. The free European trade market and the freedom of EC-citizens to seek employment in all EC countries as from 1993 will emphasize this even more. The perception of international involvement increases ideally the chances for environmental and development reforms and can only facilitate the work of engaged people and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations).

The collapse of the system of »real socialism« and the end of east-west confrontation improve the chances for a new start also in a material way. For the first time the often quoted formula of a peace dividend has a real chance. But until today world-wide expenditure for military purposes is much too high. Enormous obstacles remain to be overcome in order to find a democratic majority vote to achieve the goal of an ecologically sound development with all the implications for the prevailing political systems with their production and consumer patterns:

- The growing division of work, work productivity and urbanization have increased the distance between man and nature and have decreased his knowledge about ecological processes.

- The ever increasing mobility of people in their occupation and leisure time and the growing individualization at the expense of traditional socio-cultural links have led to a gradual withdrawal from politics. Arguments and feelings of impotence legitimize it.

- The low participation in the US elections and the sinking quota in Germany and other industrial countries are proof of this problematic trend. This makes it more difficult to draw the consequences quickly, adequately and democratically, which arise from a dramatic deterioration of the environment, i.e. to set in motion profound and far-reaching processes of reforms.

- In addition, in a great number of developing countries the societal prerequisites for the forming of a democratic will are missing. The removal of poverty does not only depend on external economic factors but is also made more difficult by a wide spectrum of internal causes for a defective development. To quote some examples: political and administrative instability, corruption, lack of land reforms, neglected social infra-structure and inadequate political concepts for families and population.

4. Aims of the Bensheimer Kreis

The development NGOs consolidated in the »Bensheimer Kreis« confess to their objectives for a socially and ecologically sound world society. To achieve this aim a profound change in the prevailing production and consumer patterns and political directions is unavoidable. This is true for industrial as well as for developing countries. Corrections of details do not suffice. An ecologically supportive course of development which is democratic, social, and just to both sexes, must soon be found and implemented in order to avert the dangers to the survival of mankind described above. An appropriate way of »sustainable development (a permanently sustainable development)« must be decided upon by the primacy of politics and must not be dominated by economical or egoistic constraints.

Such a policy must start in the industrial countries and must be supported chiefly by them. They owe it to their role as the main cause of environmental damages, their financial superiority, and their scientific and technological capacity.

The ecological reconstruction of the industrial society must go hand in hand with fundamental reforms of North-South politics. Only then has the South a chance for development. Without a substantial change in the relations between industrial and developing countries the extreme poverty in the South cannot be conquered; without the eradication of poverty, however, the environment cannot be preserved.

All of this cannot be accomplished by development cooperation alone, even if it were increased to six times the amount in relation to the gross national product, elevating it to the level of the Marshall Plan. It is deceptive and would diminish the problems and tasks inadmissibly if the question of the German contribution to save the rainforests of Brazil would only be answered by the pledge to give

250 million DM for development cooperation. Apart from this Germany has at its disposal a host of additional measures which have so far not been used or strived for. They could include, for instance, extensive reduction of debts and curtailing imports of pig iron from the Brazilian Amazon region which is exclusively smelted with charcoal produced from rain forests (smelting works in Marabá/Pará and Aceilândia/Maranhão). The indication, often pointed out, that contracts are signed by private firms, is only diverting attention from the possibilities of state intervention. In other instances, as for example in former trade with the East, the western industrial countries have also intervened in private trade contracts.

5. Requests of the Bensheimer Kreis on public and private economic level

a. To stop damages inflicted on developing countries

A whole number of single practices by industrial countries inflict damages on developing countries. They must be discontinued as soon as possible. They are politically and ethically insupportable. Even if only a small percentage of the 40,000 children who die in the Third World every day because of poverty (this number per week is equivalent to the number of people who died of the Hiroshima atom bomb in 1945), must be attributed to these external causes of economic under-development, the North is responsible for the daily death of thousands of young people. Four examples:

- **Subsidized exports of agricultural products from the EEC.** They take away markets from potential suppliers in developing countries and favour the decline of export prices for agricultural products on which developing countries very much depend.

- **Weakening of the already inefficient administrations in developing countries** by recognizing in industrial countries as tax deductible expenses, bribes paid to officials in developing countries. This is also practised in Germany. A set of agreements, binding to all countries, must limit this problem without delay. Germany, as one of the world's leading exporting countries, is under a special obligation to present a proposal for a respective international treaty.

- **Permission to export chemical products into developing countries the use of which is not permitted in Germany** (pharmaceutical products, pesticides).
  Here, too, Germany as biggest exporter of pharmaceutical products should take the initiative and work out a proposal for an international treaty.

- **Export of toxic waste into developing countries.** All exports of toxic waste not covered by the Basle Convention of 1989 are to be discontinued. It is fiction to think that developing countries could store and control toxic substances with less danger than the industrial country concerned.

b. To end the exploitation of nature

There are definitely methods available that are compatible with a market economy, to safeguard nature, and limit wasteful utilization of resources. The solution could be environmental taxation. It should soon be introduced in a social and ecological market economy with a view to include the environmental costs fully into price calculations (internalizing of environment costs).

- Even with a modest **tax on irreplaceable energy resources** Germany should immediately make a start ahead of EC- or OECD-unified regulations. As role model it could help to speed up decision processes and build up an awareness in the population for a different way of dealing with energy. To enable people in the Third World to increase their quota of fossil fuel utilization per head which is ecologically sustainable, the equivalent utilization per head in industrial countries must be drastically lowered and the use of energy be made more effective on a vast scale. Until 2005 the emissions caused by utilization of fossil fuel must be lowered by 30%. Energy-saving measures should be given preference to work-saving methods. The income derived from the a.m. tax must be used for environmental protection measures.

- The Federal Republic of Germany should immediately stop all CFC production. This is possible, as has been proved by the German Agency for Environment (Umweltbundesamt — UBA). Taxes on goods produced by or derived from environmentally damaging methods should be earmarked for the introduction of manufacturing methods that are environmentally tolerable. In case such goods are produced in developing countries, taxes should be utilized for the same purpose.

- **Developing countries** should be **compensated** in case they do not utilize their natural resources like tropical rain forests in order to protect the **environment or conserve biological diversity**. Analogies already exist, for instance in financing alternative cultivation for plants used for the production of drugs.

c. Solution to the debt-problem

The fact that the debt-problem is so closely linked with poverty as well as with environmental damages makes effective steps and quick actions abolutely necessary.

- For one, this concerns **private creditors**. The irresponsible way in which debts have been incurred by governments of developing countries is matched by the careless way credits have been granted in the 70ies and the beginning of the 80ies by the banks in industrial countries. Moreover, the very high jump of interest rates at the end of the 70ies and the beginning of the 80ies could not have been foreseen by the developing countries and was caused by the politics of the industrial countries. Developing countries cannot be made responsible for a great part of their debts to foreign countries. Therefore, the industrial countries should be prepared to grant far-reaching debt relief measures or should take appropriate action to change debts into national development funds and environment-protection funds. The governments of creditor-nations are duty-bound to demand equivalent cancellation of debts from the private banks of their countries (and, for example, request that credits already written-off be cancelled in actual fact!).

- The **public creditors**, too, (above all the governments of industrial countries) bear a great responsibility, especially towards the poorest developing countries. The proposal made by John Major, the British Prime Minister, to grant far-reaching cancellation of public debts, should immediately be taken up, concretized and be put into action as soon as possible.
- Scientific research work as to the extent of compensations owed by the industrial countries to the developing countries must be intensified, since the latter have employed environmentally damaging production methods in order to supply northern markets, partly by permitting the operation of foreign industrial subsidiaries in their countries. On the basis of the results immediate consequences should follow and be put into action to help reduce the excessive indebtedness of developing countries.

d. Implement equality of chances

A constantly smaller proportion of the world population has up to the present expanded its economic superiority more and more (note the dwindling part of developing countries on the gross world product and world trade). Equality of chances between the strong and the weak was again defeated. Example: the varying dependency on imports. Whereas the developing countries have no choice but to import goods from industrial nations like investment goods they do not produce themselves, the industrial countries are able to close down their markets against unwelcome competition (for instance agricultural products and textiles). Another example: the rich countries pocket the financial advantages of collapsing raw material markets. Every citizen can note this when buying coffee. The example of coffee shows that certain welfare gains are not possible without corresponding welfare losses. Nevertheless, the North does not noticeably step up its financial transfers to allow the developing countries to implement foresighted structural policies, investment planning and diversification. Without appropriate measures, however, anarchical quantity competition and heavy losses for the developing countries are unavoidable. The collapse of the raw material markets has led to even more exports in order to keep up necessary imports and debt servicing although this has increased the pressure on natural resources. Far in excess of the Lomé-treaties, stabilization of export earnings of developing countries and a reduction of protectionism in industrial countries is urgently necessary. We quote the German President Richard von Weizsäcker from a speech on 4 May, 1989: ... »We are still living to an irrresponsible extent at the expense of other parts of the world and at the expense of the future...«

e. To integrate the principle of environmental sustainability into all areas of national and private actions

There are no environmental standards available for a great number of national and private economic areas. Just like every national action or omission of action has to be examined as to whether they are lawful and socially tolerable, they must now also be examined as to their ecological effects. Prevention enjoys preference before relief measures for environmental damages. Amongst others, the following gaps in regulations and deficits in the execution of administrative or legal proceedings or mechanisms should immediately be adjusted:

- Amendment to existing international treaties on human rights to include social and ecological fundamental rights. It is necessary, for instance, to specify and define the human rights of the so-called second generation. Up to now, measures for the »improvement of all aspects of the environment and industrial hygiene« are listed only in chapter 12, paragraph 2, of the »International Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights« from 1966.

- To integrate the objective of environmentally sustainable development into the GATT regulations, including the GATT Preamble. The following stipulations should be included in the regulations: clauses against so-called »ecological dumping« for the export of cheap products which have been produced without observing environmental standards. It is very regrettable that the GATT working commission on world trade and environment, appointed in 1971, did not meet for 19 years and was convened only on the suggestion of one EFTA member state.

- Establishing a »UN Environment Council« with similar executive rights the UN-Security Council is invested with. This includes the appointment of international authorities which investigate and punish environmental damages, i.e. inclusive of appropriate international and national jurisdiction, disposing of specialized courts — in analogy to industrial, patent or cartell laws).

- Introduction and expansion of **environment education** in all areas of our education system.

- **Quantitative assessment of the use of the environment products** in the total financial statements of the national economy.

- No **state-financing of commercial credits** without furnishing proof of environmental sustainability of projects.

- Elaboration of stricter clauses to the **Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITEX).**

- **Introduction of compulsory tests for environmental sustainability** of projects and programmes for development cooperation.

- **International Conventions** for the protection of climate, oceans and forests.

- **Admission procedures for chemical substances, procedures and products.** The burden of proof for the innocuity (harmlessness) of substances, not yet tested under evolutionary conditions, must rest with the producer.

6. Demands of the Bensheimer Kreis for the private non-profit organizations

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and their full-time and honorary staffmembers cannot expect role models, for instance, from the state, without starting in their own organizations (see above mentioned request for environment taxation on non-renewable energy sources). Therefore, the members of the »Bensheimer Kreis« aim at environmentally sustainable working-patterns and lifestyles.

a. In development cooperation, the organizations of the »Bensheimer Kreis« commit themselves above all to the following:

- To examine the development cooperation presently practised with a view to environmental sustainability.

- Examination of all new proposals under the same viewpoint.

- Maximum integration of environment criteria concerning the financing of projects belonging to the traditional sectors of development cooperation (examples: introducing the subject of environment education in educational programmes, to supplement existing projects by installing energy-generating systems derived from sources of water, sun, wind and bio-material).

- Wherever necessary, to hold offensive discussions to obtain the mandate with the objective to give assistance as well to environment action groups and projects. Without socio-structural differentiation and strengthening of civilian societies also in developing countries, state-induced environmental politics will not be very successful.

b. In their development-education work, the member organizations of the »Bensheimer Kreis« commit themselves to the following:

- maximum implementation of demands listed above under 5 and 6 a.

- Integration of the subject ecology into the aims of their own educational work to ensure that the questions of environment and development are treated with equality and integrative importance.

- Production of necessary print and audio-visual media on the subject of environment and development — if not already available.

c. The »Bensheimer Kreis« ratifies the demands compiled in the leaflet: Aktions-Plattform »Eine Welt für alle« for an ecological and socially sustainable lifestyle of all citizens. It will impress, especially on the co-workers of their own organizations, the need for setting and serving as role models.

7. Outlook

The »Bensheimer Kreis« invites all citizens who are not yet engaged in any organization concerned with the protection of human rights and environment, development politics, and peace work, to join such groups or movements and work alongside and with them to achieve these goals. Faced with the dramatically multiplying dangers, the preservation of nature and our chances of survival depend on whether many people will now actively try to practise an ecologically and socially sustainable lifestyle. A conscious engagement in the areas of environment and development will conquer fears and will help to overcome development-pessimism. It augments our self-esteem since every participant is able to see that he/she impart a service benefitting the whole of mankind.

Two adult education journals have environmental issues as major themes:

- Environmental education for sustainable development
  ASPBAE COURIER No. 55
  Secretariat: 30/63A Longdon Place, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka
- Learning for the future. A special issue on adult learning and the environment
  ADULTS Learning
  19B De Montfort Sreet, Leicester LE1 7GE

ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Through the decisive changes in Northeastern, Southeastern, Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Central Asia and the Caucasus, new tasks have evolved for the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV). Despite all the restrictions, over the course of the past 25 years DVV was able to maintain ties in those regions in the form of encounters, professional contacts and arrangements of exchange. Those ties are now serving as a basis to systematically develop existing contacts and pick up on new opportunities for cooperation. At the same time, careful consideration has to be given to details of procedure and work accents in the countries of Eastern Europe where political, economic, ethnic and regional difficulties render working conditions different from those in many countries of Africa, Asia or Latin America.

Adult education in Eastern Europe

Current status and perspectives of work of the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV) with the countries of Mid-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, CIS and the Baltic

1. In place of an introduction

In many countries of the world there is a saying often heard in Russian as well:

„Лучше научи нас рыбачить чем кормить нас рыбой."

It means:

»Don't give us fish; teach us to fish instead.«

This saying is recently being encountered by many western travellers in Eastern Europe. What does it mean, and why is it so frequently used?

»Don't give us fish,...«

Since the collapse of the socialist systems in Central and Eastern Europe, the deficiencies in the economic and social structures of society there have become evident, and Western Europe, headed by Germany, has been responding with quantities of fish in the form of humanitarian relief. Assistance of this type has meanwhile proven to be merely a »stopgap«. It pulls the people through one winter, but leaves them dependent upon help for the next. More important, however, is that such help is not sought by the people themselves. They are not interested in Western aid that makes them feel inferior, for they see, or are coming to see how they are entering a relationship of permanent and unwanted dependency that stifles their own initiative and serves only to emphasize the deficits of their own country instead. For the older generation there is the added feeling that after coming out of the Second World War as victors, they are now receiving aid from the side that was vanquished.

»... teach us to fish instead.«

The people of Central and Eastern Europe want to relearn how to catch their own fish. They want to plan and design their lives on their own, to be autonomous, to educate themselves and be able to work. The states of the former superpower — now freer, but obviously poorer, and inferior in many areas like technology or commerce — must submit themselves to dependency on the West and learn from their former »capitalist enemies«. This in itself will require a substantial feat of reorientation and adjustment to a new life from millions of people who once believed their nation to be a wealthy superpower and the Eastern bloc a bastion of technology. They will no longer be led by the hand. Instead, they will have to take the management of their lives into their own hands.

Learning how to fish, however, also implies that dependency cannot last, that the people of Central and Eastern Europe will someday master their lives alone, the countries will become autonomous, and the states will attend to their own organization.

Moreover, we must not forget that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe once did know how to fish. Over the centuries they had developed cultures of high standing: One need only call to mind areas such as music (and composers like Bartók, Tschaikovski, Dvorak, Rachmaninoff, Smetana), literature (and the works of authors like Dostoyevsky, Kundera, Lem, Mickiewicz, Monikova, Rasputin, Tolstoy, Wasow to name a few), the Polish art of restoration, Russian avantgarde, Caucasian cuisine, Central Asian architecture, or the Baltic tradition in textiles.

The basic sciences were very advanced in Eastern Europe. A large number of professionals in the scientific and teaching fields are facing redundancy. For quite some time, many highly qualified Eastern Europeans have been leaving their countries in order to escape their dilemma and be able to work. This very often is not the voluntary migration that western media would have us believe, but the need to support families, and the desire to work.

With appropriate professional and technical aid to rebuild and expand educational structures at levels including continuing education and beyond (consider the many scientists and artists, the »intelligence« in the political arena), this high potential of qualified personnel could be employed domestically. Moreover, in most Central and Eastern European countries, continuing education has incipient structures, or the remains of former institutions, that could serve as the base upon which to build. There is an urgent need to act here so as to avert progressive destabilization of the current situation and give the people a prospect for investing their work potential in their own countries.

The task of adult education and continuing education in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, therefore, is to place the fishing rod in the hands of the people, and teach them to fish, in other words to supply appropriate equipment, to transfer methods and skills, to offer advice, to exchange experience in order in the long run to help establish an adult education network and provide help for self help.

2. Political Environment

In the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as in Eastern, South Eastern and Central Europe (which, for the sake of convenience, will be referred to in the following as Central and Eastern Europe), the political developments of the mid-1980s marked a turning point. They initiated a process of momentous transformation in the governmental, economic, social and political situation of those countries and their relation to the rest of the world, activating latent rivalries in that part of the world and igniting conflicts long smouldering there between nationalities and ethnic groups. As yet, no patent remedies or institutionalized solutions to peaceful resolution exist. The present generation is witness to an upsurge of civil wars in various regions, the most terrible of which is raging in former Yugoslavia.

At the same time, however, with the disappearance of the political and ideological divide between East and West, it no longer seems impossible for the entire continent of Europe to embrace the historical notion of a democratic and constitutional order which guarantees fundamental freedoms and human rights and protects ethnic minorities — an order founded on the principle of separation-of-powers, the independence of courts, the unrestricted plurality of political powers and parties, freedom of the press, and public control of state spending and taxation.

Hungary, Poland and former Czechoslovakia were the first countries to break away from socialist one-party domination. Romania and Bulgaria followed with less peaceful revolutions. Those countries, the republics comprising what was formerly Yugoslavia, Albania, the Baltic nations, and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), meanwhile a federation of ten countries, together with Georgia and Azerbaijan, are now facing the challenge of allowing economic, social and cultural restructuring to follow the political revolution.

The Eastern European Mutual Assistance Pact has been dissolved, planned national economy has disintegrated, and centrally managed enterprises and collective farming are gradually being restructured and privately organized so as to operate under market economy conditions. The process of transformation is a painful one, entailing many difficulties: the old order has died, but its remains have not yet been removed. A new order still has to be built.

In this connection, adult education has a crucial role to play. It helps the people to adjust to the changes in politics, the economy, law and society, and at the same time to become active agents of their transformation. It is the means to acquire new qualifications in response to new demands and requirements. It recognizes and specifies the problems encountered by individuals along the way, and offers support in coping with them and finding solutions. To create a peaceful, politically united Europe, adult education is just as indispensable in Western Europe as it is in Central and Eastern Europe.

In view of its own sinister role in the past, Germany has special responsibility in this process of reconstruction.

3. Perspectives and tasks of adult education

The Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (*Deutscher Volkshochschulverband — DVV*), established during the 1960s to promote adult education programs in Africa, Asia and Latin America, took concrete steps in response to the current developments in Central and Eastern Europe to conceptualize and initiate projects of cooperation with national and regional institutions of adult education in countries of that part of the world as well.

Within the framework of long-standing bilateral cultural treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and insofar as the restrictive conditions of former times permitted, DVV had over the years established and maintained contacts and regular technical exchange with institutions and adult educators there. The experiences gathered in the course of the past 20 years now serve as DVV's point of departure for its more recent arrangements of cooperation.

The work of the Institut is based on universally applicable insights and precepts:

Man's capacity to learn and the necessity for life-long learning justify the need for adult education, and, indeed, make it possible. Adult education provides orientation and know-how as tools for the individual to better comprehend and influence processes of personal and social development. In doing so, it responds to the demands and challenges faced by man and society in a constantly changing world.

Adult education takes on many forms depending on the particular historical and cultural background of its setting. It is influenced by the prevailing economic, social, religious and value systems and the radical changes currently taking place in each of those spheres.

Adult education occurs wherever adults find themselves in the process of learning how to help satisfy primary nutritional, housing, clothing and health needs, but also when they endeavour to learn how to ensure a greater degree of social justice and more active participation in the cultural and political life of their communities.

Adult education must cater to individual and collective needs and interests and must adopt a dynamic approach in responding to each specific situation. What it achieves is expressed less in terms of diplomas or certificates than in increased competence on the part of adult members of a community to assume responsibility for improving the economic, social, political and cultural conditions which have a direct bearing on their lives. It should contain and support elements of social adjustment and emancipation from societal repression.

Adult education in an emancipating sense is motivated by the wants and needs of its target group, and as such requires a participatory form of program selection and organization, in other words, active involvement on the part of the participants in the choice of topics and methods for their learning. This can occur in a formally structured learning situation, or through individual or group action, provided the participants are afforded the opportunity to analyze their conditions and become conscious of the course and outcome of their actions.

4. Demands on adult education in Central and Eastern Europe

Within the context of these general principles, the Institute for International Cooperation provides solidarity and support to programs of adult education in Central and Eastern Europe. Strategies and areas of focus in arrangements of cooperation with partners and institutions must be specifically aligned with the historical and present day political and economic conditions of each separate country and culture.

Political transition in Central and Eastern Europe has been accompanied from the start by a social development which has as its object the complete redefinition of values and concepts relating to the function and duties of government. The concepts of individual responsibility and state intervention have shifted. The state is to restrict its role to ensuring the existence of an environment for private commerce, providing social security for the financially weak members of society, correcting socially undesirable trends, and organizing infrastructures, the educational system and a functional legal system. Those tasks are to be financed through public taxation and no longer as before through the proceeds of state-run enterprises. To manage the apparatus of government it will be necessary to set up an efficient administration. All of these aspects are subject to improvement through the basic and advanced training of adults who until now were accustomed to working under different structures.

Much more will be required in the way of reform of state structures and the guarantee of fundamental rights. The relationship between society and state will have to become transparent and subject to public control; administrative structures need to be decentralized; last not least, state and political institutions must foster real equality between men and women. Continuing education to assist with adjustment will be required in all those politically related areas as well.

Economic survival in a uniting Europe in the face of West European competition will require the closing of technological gaps, the reform of privatized enterprises according to ecological criteria and the improvement of existing structures of industry and production so as to make them more competitive. Principles will have to be elaborated for a socially and ecologically oriented market economy and transition in that direction so that uncontrolled economic liberalism will not be mistaken for a market economy. Here, too, comprehensive education programs and shifts in focus will have to be developed for and with adults.

There are certain similarities between phenomena in the economic and social structures of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the problems of so-called developing countries. Low industrial productivity, insufficiently developed infrastructures, inadequate access to health services, and the low standard of living in general call for »assistance in reconstruction« from Western Europe and the wealthier countries of the world. Such assistance, however, should seek to avoid the errors that were made during the history of development assistance to Africa, Asia and Latin America. Programs of cooperation cannot be conceived in isolation from one another. Priority must be given to developing and implementing measures to promote regional equality and to integrate the various sectors of the national economy, taking into regard socio-structural and demographic conditions. At the same time, assistance for reconstruction must focus on the development of an environmentally compatible agriculture and an appropriately situated industry. Besides paying regard to these aspects, assistance in the area of education must put special emphasis on the support of medium-sized enterprises and crafts.

In most countries of Central and Eastern Europe, quality education is widespread, and there is a higher level of polytechnical training. This, however, is not necessarily the type of training that will be needed to realize necessary economic reforms and close technological gaps. Nevertheless, there are many possibilities inherent in traditional forms of education and existing school systems. With certain adjustments, and the incorporation of non-formal education elements, existing structures can serve as a basis for relevant adult education programs that aim at the broadest possible coverage while remaining flexible and decentralized. Consequently, DVV's Institute for International Cooperation works with adult education organizations whose approach is not merely to transfer knowledge, but also to participate in institutional development. These may be former state institutions of adult education that are undergoing reorganization, but also newly established non-government organizations that focus on specific subject areas for specific target groups (like data processing for computer operators, or German language courses for the tourist industry). During the present phase of general transition it is difficult to estimate the stability and seriousness of such institutions. For the time being at least, organizations with existing structures to ensure widespread coverage have a greater potential for replicability and reaching target groups than incipient institutions. Nevertheless, the Institute for International Cooperation adheres to the policy of providing a chance for many diverse forms of adult education to develop.

In addition to observing the objectives outlined above, and attending to collective learning and retraining needs of the target groups, organized adult education will also have to deal with the social and psychological phenomena implicit in the restructuring process. It should offer concepts of continuing education that provide encouragement for men and women out of work and in financial need — concepts that restore personal courage and confidence, and thereby help to ease as well as curtail the negative effects of social transition on an individual level.

5. Programs and forms of cooperation

The projects of cooperation that the Institute for International Cooperation maintains with partners in Central and Eastern Europe have been able to reckon with help from certain *Volkshochschulen (VHS)* because of geographic proximity as well as the increasing number of international partnerships on a city-to-city basis in Central and Eastern Europe. Cooperation between *VHS* in Germany and similar institutions in Central and Eastern Europe can be instrumental in promoting lasting relations between colleagues. It can help to facilitate an ongoing and decentralized process of mutual learning, to overcome prejudices and dispel enmities and thereby nurture mutual understanding among nationalities in general.

It is not possible simply to transplant the model of the »*Volkshochschule*« in arrangements of cooperation with partners in Central and Eastern Europe. Assistance on the part of the Institute for International Cooperation must always consider existing community and political structures. It must respect domestic initiatives from the continuing education sector in each respective partner country, and adapt itself to the various working conditions and institutional uniqueness of each partner.

In addition, the Institute for International Cooperation will increasingly count on internal resources of the German Adult Education Association, the Board of Management, the Pedagogical Institute (PAS), the Adolf Grimme Institute (AGI), the executive office, the special department established to promote *VHS* in the new German states, as well as the Regional Adult Education Associations (*Landesverbände*) within the scope of their cooperation with Eastern European partners. Details regarding information exchange, advisory roles, as well as procedures for reaching agreement and making decisions are currently under deliberation. This applies in particular to the adoption of *VHS* certificates and the role of the Pedagogical Institute. The two institutes are currently reviewing that issue together with the directors of DVV's projects in the countries concerned.

The details of each project of cooperation are arranged individually in joint negotiations with the foreign partner. DVV is open to arrangements of cooperation with one or several partners, government agencies, and university institutes, or non-governmental organizations, with or without its own personnel or project administration. There is a necessity for continuous updating of all information relevant to the cooperation as well as on-going dialogue with the partner organization in order to do justice to the wide variety of approaches, counterparts and countries, and to ensure an effective application from a social and cultural standpoint of advisory and financial support expended to implement project measures.

Therefore, as a rule, decision-making and program-planning are seen as joint processes. These principles of partnership in cooperative ventures arise from mutual respect and professional dictates.

Following is a summary of the chief areas of focus for adult education in partner countries, as well as the main target groups and needs related to technical aspects of organization. It provides an overview of solicitations for assistance received by the Institute for International Cooperation, but should not be understood as a catalogue that applies in like measure to all the various countries listed.

The following **subject areas** will be relevant for adult education in Central and Eastern Europe in projects of cooperation with DVV:

- primary education for adults,
- general vocational and cultural continuing education,
- hitherto ignored or neglected subject areas in adult education like:
    - western European languages,
    - principles of market economy and management,
    - new technologies, data processing and communication techniques,
    - health education,
    - environmental education,
    - law and statutory regulations,
    - overcoming ethnic prejudices, and multi-cultural openness.

Continuing education activities are to be geared to certain target groups in particular, including:

- adult educators (full-time and part-time staff):
  - working at the base level, or in intermediate or senior positions,
  - on local, regional and national levels;
- workers confronted by new situations on the labour market and unfamiliar procedures or innovations on the job,
- individuals who need to be retrained, or who are unemployed, discharged military personnel, and graduates whose specializations are no longer in demand on the labour market,
- young people who are seeking new points of reference during the transition period,
- women and older people who are particularly affected by the economic crisis,
- marginal groups.

In addition, the following **programs** will be of interest:

- designing methods and aids in the above indicated subject areas,
- basic and advanced training of adult educators in specialized subject areas, in methodology and didactics, as well as in administration, e.g.;
  - model programs demonstrating new courses forms and contents at selected adult education centers operated by partner organizations,
  - fostering exchange with European institutions of adult education,

  - teacher exchanges and professional visits for the purpose of mutual observation,
  - advisory services and assistance in developing concepts and methods of analysis and appraisal in connection with preparing, monitoring and evaluating adult education programs,
- certification courses (leading to formal qualifications like the *VHS* certificates);
- supporting vocational and employment-oriented basic and advanced training;
- dialogue and experience exchange in the area of adult education at local, national and international levels.

Organizational counselling is to be provided in the following sectors:

- The creation of opportunities to increase the transparency and professional exchange among domestic providers of adult education interested in cooperating in the continuing education sector.
- Creation of possibilities for exchange and cooperation between organizations providing adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany at the level of regional *VHS* associations and various *Volkshochschulen* in order to establish professional ties at an operational level that will be able to carry on without external support after an initial support phase, e.g. through programs of exchange between *Volkshochschulen* and similar institutions in partner countries fostered within the framework of city-to-city partnerships.

- Grouping of hitherto distinct types of organizations by creating networks and national associations, support of information and communication vehicles and the support of a lobby for adult education at the administrative level in the public education system.

Further, in order to strengthen **institutional competence**, there have been requests for:

- support of state institutions in vocational training and retraining and in restructuring industry and commerce;
- specialized advice for the government in the area of vocational training and the economy in particular as concerns norms and the introduction of qualifying profiles oriented to the demands of the European market;
- the elaboration of national certification standards for certification and norms for testing in the adult education sector;
- improvement of adult education in the language sector by introducing foreign language certificates recognized throughout Europe (*VHS* and the International Certificate Conference — ICC);
- support in the improvement, production, acquisition, translation and dissemination of concepts and production of teaching and learning materials (print media, radio, television, distance education structures, editing), and in sample application of new course forms and content;
- advice in formulating concepts for legislation that will provide a statutory basis for adult education;
- fortifying social institutions and infrastructures.

During the first year of cooperation with various countries of Central and Eastern Europe, assistance was chiefly channelled into institutional development and equipment to stabilize the communication system and infrastructures so as to ensure the material conditions necessary for adult education measures to succeed. For the next few years cooperation will concentrate on methods and content. Except in the cases of Poland and Hungary, where DVV has already been working since 1991, we are not able to provide a complete picture of projected focuses or the order in which measures will be effected in specific areas of cooperation, since the details must be further clarified in conjunction with the respective partners on the basis of their annual plans.

In mid-1992 an information trip to the Federal Republic of Germany was organized for representatives from the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic (CSFR), Romania, and Bulgaria. The Institute for International Cooperation was in charge of the itinerary. Visits were made to the offices of the Institute, the Pedagogical Institute, Adolf Grimme Institute and selected *Volkshochschulen*. Based on information exchanged during the course of those visits, the representatives of our partner organizations were better able to specify in which areas they seek cooperation with DVV and its organs.

6. Projects of Cooperation

Within the framework of long-standing bilateral cultural treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the various countries of the former Eastern bloc, and insofar as the restrictive conditions of former times permitted, DVV had over the years established and maintained contact with adult education institutes in those countries. Toward the end of 1991, funds were made available that opened the possibility for DVV to expand the program of assistance already initiated in Hungary and Poland to include three further Eastern European countries, i.e. CSFR, Bulgaria and Romania, where activities have meanwhile been initiated. Like elsewhere in former Eastern bloc countries, adult education is undergoing a process of reorientation and restructuring in the Czech Republic (CR) and the Slovak Republic (SR), Romania and Bulgaria, too, but under the more difficult conditions of structural crises. There is an unprecedented rise in challenges facing society in general, and this also applies to adult education. It has a vital social function to fulfil, but lacks resources and is not yet adequately anchored in the legal structure of the Eastern European countries. To ensure the success of social transition there, it will be expedient as well as necessary to channel aid into adult education, too. The Institute recognizes that this is also true for the other countries of South Eeastern Europe, particularly for the republics issuing from former Yugoslavia. In Albania, too, there is the added burden typical for developing countries of deprivations in every important sector, compounded by the decades of isolation imposed upon that country even within the socialist camp. Such circumstances make it all the more urgent to support adult education. Unfortunately, besides the fact that funds are limited, the civil war going on in Yugoslavia places restrictions on the Institute's involvement.

6.1 Hungary

For many years DVV has been maintaining professional partnerships in all the formerly socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This also applies to Hungary where ties were never severed with the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge (*Tudományos Ismeretterjäsztö Társulat TIT*). TIT 's membership in the European Bureau of Adult Education, the International Council of Adult Education, and the International Certificate Conference, for example, goes back last not least to intervention by DVV. Alongside the ties to TIT, however, it was also possible to form links with other organizations like the Hungarian adult education society

Magyar Népfőiskolai Társaság (MNT), which originated as an opposition initiative.

Following the change in social order in Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany took this into account and placed substantial funds at the disposal of DVV to support adult and continuing education in Hungary. In May 1991 DVV was able to open a field office in Budapest.

Its aim is to help governmental, semi-governmental and private agencies set up a nation-wide pluralistic adult education system able to assist in the difficult social, economic and political process of transition in harmony with the needs of the Hungarian population. This will require the evolution of an appropriate legal framework and a new spectrum of contents and methods. Basic and advanced training of adult educators is just as necessary as material support for educational institutions.

The environment in which this process is taking place is nothing less than dramatic in Hungary, too. There is a rapid upsurge in unemployment; more and more economic enterprises, pressured by the dissolution of the COMECON market and western competition, are declaring themselves bankrupt. Social polarization is becoming more acute. Moreover, Hungary has to bear more of the burdens issuing from the political situation of the region than other neighbouring countries: large numbers of war refugees from former Yugoslavia; countless Romanian citizens using Hungary as a springboard to the Federal Republic of Germany; the new order in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. In view of the failure of the government to develop rapid solutions to the countless problems, all this went to hasten the development of a political malaise among Hungarians, symptomized, for example, in the extremely low turnout,at the last election.

The partners of DVV's project office are

- the Ministry for Culture and Education,
- TIT, with its national association, the importance of which is diminishing, and its regional branches,
- the Hungarian adult education society MNT,
- publicly operated houses of education and educational centers,
- other providers of adult education, universities etc.

The DVV field office sees its major function in the following areas:

- designing educational opportunities on topics including the state, society, citizenship role concepts, economy, community and self initiative;

- promoting and improving the quality of foreign language instruction in response to the increased demand for courses in Western European foreign languages (*VHS* and ICC Certificates);

- fostering health education geared to increasing awareness and prevention especially in rural areas;

- promoting environmental education to sensitize people to ecological issues and develop an action-oriented approach to dealing with them;

- data processing for computer operators and programmers;

- training and qualifying workers for the service sector;

- sensitizing people to the problems of living together in a country with diverse ethnic cultural minorities, a most relevant issue particularly in Hungary

In addition, priority attention is to be given to certain target groups through measures including:

- Programs fostering social communication to stabilize the situation of those groups not yet or no longer integrated in the process of transforming Hungarian society, namely young people, the unemployed and the elderly.
- Diverse and flexible programs to provide general and advanced training or retraining for young people and the unemployed in the above indicated areas.
- Instruction in methods, crop selection, marketing and administration for farmers. The target group in this area is reached through the media in a joint effort conducted by Hungarian television (Channel 2) together with DVV's field office. A three-month model training program ending with an examination was held for 30 farmers in a small village.

Structural assistance is provided in the form of advice and support to community and *Komitat* administrations and the Ministry for Culture and Education in the creation of the legal framework for adult and continuing education. The chief focus in this connection is on the importance of maintaining public responsibility for adult and continuing education and not leaving it exclusively to the forces of the free market.

DVV's field office holds numerous seminars for Hungarian adult educators and staff members of community and Komitat administrations in the aforementioned subject areas. During the course of various such seminars it has been possible to draw upon the expertise of members of staff from certain *Volkshochschulen*, members of DVV's Board of Management or the resources of the Pedagogical Institute.

Financial assistance within the framework of the DVV project has been used for material investments required to set up classrooms (computer hardware and software, furniture, teaching materials), but also for administration work (photocopiers, fax machines, data processing equipment and office materials) at selected Hungarian adult education institutions, including those outside of Budapest in particular. The two national adult education associations TIT and MNT were each provided with a motor vehicle.

Special acknowledgement is merited by the dedication of certain *Volkshochschulen*, including the *VHS* Reutlingen, which maintains a particularly close partnership with Szolnok; the *VHS* Mannheim, where in 1992 and 1993 practice teaching positions of several months' duration were offered to a total of nine Hungarian adult educators; the *VHS* Schwäbish-Gmünd, which has devoted its efforts to increasing the competence of Hungarian language teachers in its German foreign language program; the *VHS* Munich, which has made special contributions at seminars in the area of vocational training; or the *VHS* Bonn, whose director has served as a valuable resource for matters concerning administration in the adult education sector. As in Poland, institution-to-institution partnerships can be maintained very well within the context of city-to-city partnerships, and their positive effects are noteworthy. They serve to demonstrate and secure the idea of community-based adult education work tuned to the needs of its citizens, open to everyone, and organized at the base level instead of just being propagated from above.

Our partners are generally interested in establishing contact with *Volkshochschulen* that maintain partner relationships with similar institutions in other countries, since for the most part such *Volkshochschulen* already enjoy a network of contacts established over the years during which they have been able to gather experience and knowledge of the country and often a command of its language. They are consequently in a position to provide an efficient basis for fruitful cooperation.

The process of restructuring and re-orienting adult education in Hungary is hardly two years old. There is still widespread uncertainty, institutions are still undergoing reorganization, and subject priorities are still undecided. It will take time to harmonize public interests and state priorities with the democratic legitimacy of continuing education and its status on the political agenda. In this situation, impatience and pressure for rapid solutions according to set models would be out of place. If DVV intends to support and accompany the process, it will need patience and perseverance. The work will not be accomplished in three years' time. It is therefore our intention to petition the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development for a three year extension of support to the DVV project office in Hungary beyond the initial project phase which is due to expire at the close of 1993.

6.2 Poland

Professional ties with adult educators in Poland were never severed even during the time of socialist rule. The German Adult Education Association and specific *Volkshochschulen* were able to maintain links to the State Society for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge TWP (Towarzystwo Wiedzy Powszechnej) and certain adult education institutions through contacts and professional exchange. As of 1991, however, the cooperation between DVV and Polish colleagues and institutions has taken on a new dimension through the establishment of a field office financed by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation. This comes at a particularly difficult time for Polish adult education as it contends with the early stages of renewal.

The official cooperation between DVV and the Polish Ministry for National Education is based on a joint protocol signed in April of last year by DVV's President, Prof. Dr. Rita Süssmuth, and the Minister for National Education, Dr. Andrzej Stelmachowski.

A general analysis of the current situation of adult education in Poland presents a discouraging picture. Under the difficult economic and financial circumstances of the state, there are not enough resources to fully or at least partially fund continuing education institutions. The Institute for Continuing Education at the Ministry for National Education can only allocate money for specific projects, and no general provisions exist to regulate the financing of adult education institutions. Every non-profit continuing education association is required to rely on its own resources to stay in existence, and must compete with private commercial institutions besides.

It is evident that the only institutions that can survive are those that recognize the competition and secure their place on the continuing education market by developing new ideas. In certain primarily job-related areas the demand for courses is high. The political, cultural and personal development sectors remain neglected.

Moreover, attendance at educational functions depends on personal financial circumstances. Wide segments of the population remain excluded from participation. However, it is precisely in such an environment that there is a decisive need for continuing education. Continuing education is required to orient people during the transformation of society and economy — especially under the new conditions of the free market economy — in order to stem their anxieties and help them build new attitudes towards their function in society.

An initiative like the one in which DVV assistance goes to support the partnership of the *Volkshochschule* Overath/Rösrath with a community adult education center run by several communities in the region of Tczew, is very valuable in such a situation, and can serve as model for all of Poland. Considering that a number of cities in the Federal Republic of Germany have recently adopted Polish cities as their twin cities, it would appear natural for their *Volkshochschulen* to embark upon similar partnerships. *Volkshochschulen* should be part of such city-to-city arrangements. There are some indications in the direction of future twinning arrangements between a few other *Volkshochschulen* and similar institutions in Poland.

The initiative to support continuing education in the region along the boundary between Germany and Poland constitutes a beginning that has opened up new possibilities, as demonstrated during the first German-Polish workshop in Guben and Gubin.

Strictly speaking, the task of DVV's field office in Warsaw, besides providing support and advice for such initiatives, is to support continuing education institutions in Poland. This requires tact and discretion in view of the deep-seated wounds inflicted on Poland by the Third Reich and the pervading fear of German dominance and control. It is therefore not acceptable to prescribe and transfer solutions, but rather to respect the wishes of the Polish people, and to provide them with help through advice, personnel and financial aid where they request it.

The simple presence of DVV's field office in Warsaw already serves to bolster the idea of adult education. Even at the Ministry for National Education, the position of the Institute for Continuing Education has improved since the signing of the joint protocol. Continuing education is now attracting more notice.

The main areas for the activities of DVV's field office are languages as well as cultural and vocational education. The demand for foreign languages is growing. English still holds first place, but German is gaining in importance as a foreign language. Since there are no uniform standards and recognized certification for language courses, the proficiency programs of the International Certificate Conference have elicited considerable interest. However, it will be necessary to provide instructors with appropriate training in language and methods. In coordination with the Goethe Institute, courses are being held on communicative forms of teaching for language instructors, many of whom were formerly Russian teachers.

The focus in vocational training is not just on measures to qualify staff, but also on subsidies to furnish classrooms with weaving looms, computers, hydraulic or electronic equipment and the like.

Vocational training involves enormous challenges. High unemployment figures, inadequate skills and structural changes in industry will require the entire reserves of the nation. The newly developing labour administration will likewise have to be prepared to meet the changing situation and their obligation to bear the cost of retraining measures for the unemployed.

Unemployment is particularly affecting village populations. Not only are they facing the problem of earning a living, but there is a lack of orientation for young people. Therefore, it is important to support cultural education in the rural sector. Despite their lack of funds, the traditional residential education centers are tackling this area with a great share of idealism, and a minimum amount of support for folkloric or music groups can lend cultural significance to an otherwise tedious existence.

During its first year of existence, DVV's field office in Warsaw supported several institutions and projects including:

- the »Center for Continuing Education« in Lódz in conjunction with the Ministry for National Education through acquisition of equipment for a knitting workshop to retrain unemployed female textile workers;

- TWP Gdańsk in collaboration with the teacher training college in Gdansk and the European Encounter Foundation in Krokowa by equipping a computer classroom for secretarial, commercial and bookkeeping courses;

- the *Kaliska Fundacja Uniwersytetów Ludowych*, a community foundation for adult education in Kalisz in collaboration with the Center for Continuing Education which is attached to the Secondary School of Kalisz by equipping a computer classroom to train adults and secondary level students in data processing and computer software;

- the »Center for Adult Education« in Tczew in collaboration with the secondary school of economics of Tczew, the school authorities of Gdańsk, the community administrations of Tczew, Gniew and Pelplin and the *Volkshochschule* Overath/Rösrath through programs in computer training, and by providing teaching materials for »German as a foreign language«;

- the promotional center for small and medium-sized businesses in Opole in collaboration with TWP Opole by equipping a computer classroom and a practice business enterprise as part of a network of practice firms in various medium-sized Polish cities such as Opole, Bygdoszcz, Chojnice, Lublin, Kielce, Bialystok and Tczew. On the initiative of the DVV field office applications for aid were made in this connection to the Foundation for German-Polish cooperation;

- the adult education centers in Sosnowiec, Bielsko Biala and Bialystok in collaboration with their respective labour administrations by equipping teaching workshops for pneumatics, electropneumatics and hydraulics to improve production possibilities for small and medium-sized competitively viable local industries.

It is the policy of DVV's field office not to concentrate support on the large centers in Warsaw, Gdańsk or Kraków, but rather to create models for continuing education specifically in the smaller centers as well. Pursuant to this policy, during the course of the present year, computer workshops are being set up in adult education centers in Tarnów, Plock, Augustów and Gluchów. In view of the institutional instability of partner organizations, the strategy nas been adopted of grouping several institutions together.

In the area of cultural education, the Association of Residential Folk High Schools has been provided with music instruments and requisites for folklore-oriented work.

DVV's field office organizes seminars around important themes like the training of foreign language teachers, the training of examiners, administration and direction of continuing education institutions, advanced vocational training, practice business enterprises etc. Specialists from the Federal Republic of Germany are enlisted on occasion to take part in such seminars.

The project also promotes professional exchange between various German *Volkshochschulen* (e.g. Siegen, Bremerhaven, Mülheim) and Polish institutions (e.g. in Niwki, Suchy Bór, Gac, Lódż and Tczew).

The results of selected seminars are being documented and made available to adult educators in Poland. In cooperation with the Ministry for National Education, preparations are in progress for the publication of a professional journal entitled »Oświata Doroslych«.

The work of DVV's project office in Warsaw has been officially approved and receives funding from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation until the close of 1993. Application is being made for a three-year extension of this term.

6.3 The Czech Republic

DVV's partner in the Czech Republic (CR) is the Comenius Academy, an organization founded to replace the former Academy of Sciences under new direction. It is a non-profit, private organization with a current membership of around 25,000 individuals and is based on local organizations in 76 Czech counties. The organizations are legally independent except for the administration of their assets. The Academy implements programs of adult education in its regional centers which are distributed throughout the country. Programs are conducted in collaboration with city councils, trade unions and companies that dispose of their own facilities. The so-called »Folk University« in Prague has a staff of 10 full-time and 80 part-time members who receive reinforcement in essential areas from professors of various universities. The curriculum at present comprises the fields of economics and management, agriculture, international political science, history, languages, women, family, state and law, study of the future, health care, social sciences, management consulting, didactics and methodology of adult education. In addition it offers a package of distance education courses.

The Comenius Academy has been commissioned by the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport to draft the provisions of a statute governing the principles of adult education.

The cooperation between DVV and the Comenius Academy is directed at outfitting a network of regional educational centers with basic technical equipment that is intended to provide the foundation for independent production of teaching and learning materials, data processing, audio-visual work, and communication improvements. Moreover, by the first part of this year, in conjunction with the Institute for International Cooperation, the Comenius Academy had organized a number of workshops attended by multipliers and directors of regional education centers.

The accent for the next three years will be on curricula improvement and further development of teaching plans in the foreign language, commercial, and data processing sectors. Plans exist to pursue and intensify contacts towards cooperation with the International Certificate Conference.

Since the formal split of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic into two separate states, DVV has been striving to strengthen cooperative ties with the Slovak Republic. However, the situation of continuing education in the SR must be reviewed, in particular insofar as concerns the Slovak Academy, and needs will have to be specified. At the same time DVV is looking into the extent to which it will be possible to include community adult education institutions within the scope of cooperation as well.

In the cooperation with the Comenius Academy, the partner relationships established with certain *Volkshochschulen* and *VHS* associations on the Länder level — specifically those in neighbouring Bavaria — will be especially significant in helping to secure collaboration at the Association's base level. Moreover, geographical proximity and the smooth ties of communication will favour a more intensive structure of professional contacts within the scope of the partnership.

6.4 Romania

DVV's counterpart in Romania is the People's University (*Universitatea Populara*) in Bucharest, an institute that closely resembles the German *Volkshochschule* in its curriculum structure and methodology as well as in its perception of the social tasks of education. Most of the near 150 courses that it offers lead to the attainment of certificates. In addition, the University holds larger conferences on socio-political and socio-economic issues, enlisting the participation of prominent national scientists. The University has an annual course enrolment of about 15,000 individuals, the majority of whom are employed. The University is funded independently and relies on the returns from its foreign language and commercial courses that account for more than 50 % of its entire program. At present, the pedagogical staff consists of around 200 part-time employees. Ten full-time professionals are responsible for its organization and administration. Since its reorganization as an independent private entity, and the discontinuance of State support, the People's University must contend with the new situation of securing sufficient resources to be able to function.

Other »people's universities« formerly under the control of the Romanian Ministry of Education are following in the footsteps of this model. During the past year several have reorganized and become registered educational associations. Some dispose over the Houses of Culture of their respective prefectures.

Whether and how the people's universities can resort to community support is currently being debated by the competent authorities. Before progress can be made in adult education, also on the community level, a legal foundation must be created.

Cooperation with DVV will concentrate on realizing the plans to create a national association of people's universities. It will be a large-scale undertaking for the People's University to build up the proposed structure for a national association, implying the creation of an efficient service structure for adult education throughout the country and the widening of the traditionally culture-oriented content to include new subject matters and forms. Special attention will have to be given to the creation of a statutory fundament for adult education. As plans exist to sign an association agreement with the EC as early as 1993, it would be sound policy to take positive action on the solicitations of the Romanian counterpart for more intensive support in the area of foreign language instruction, as well as data processing, business economics and commercial training programs. Moreover, in the same manner as pointed out in the foregoing section on the Czech Republic, measures should also be undertaken in Romania to foster arrangements of exchange and cooperation with German *Volkshochschulen* and institutions of German adult education.

Besides promoting the development of the *Universitatea Populara*, the cooperation arrangement will extend to include the promotion of an education research institute of the Ministry of Education that already maintains contact with the *Universitatea Populara*. The institute is planning as its first task to reorganize the country's »rural people's universities« that had existed up to the 1940s, in order to help the rural people that leave the cities to return to their restored lands, and assist them with basic agricultural techniques.

The Institute for International Cooperation is working in Romania with partners who are presently involved in the phase of nationwide institutional development and revision of content. In view of further considerations — population figures, application of structural assistance, the lag in the development or reorganization of adult education structures in relation to other countries inter alia — it would appear expedient at the present time to open a project office in Romania in order to facilitate direct contact between the Institute for International Cooperation and the Romanian partners during this crucial phase. Through a field office it would be easier to provide advice in matters pertaining to reorganization and the progressive stages of development of adult education structures, and to ensure the creation of a more efficient cooperation.

6.5 Bulgaria

DVV's counterpart in Bulgaria is the »umbrella« organization for Bulgarian societies engaged in the dissemination of knowledge. This association is also in the process of reform marked by the democratization of its apparatus and increasing control on the part of its members. In 1991, following the successful decentralization of its internal structures, a significant increase in membership was registered. The members comprise regional or community institutes of public education which were formerly 100% state-funded, but which now virtually all rely on raising their own resources. Some of the 42 members, which have joined together on local levels as private educational associations, have inherited Houses of Culture from their legal predecessors. Nevertheless, aside from financing their structures, they have a great many problems relating to the new demands of adults for options to acquire further professionally and economically relevant skills and knowledge.

There is deficit of information on programs and teaching plans in the areas of the modern secretarial professions, in techniques of communication and data processing. There is a general lack of teachers trained in Western European languages and specialized instructors for marketing, accounting and bookkeeping and basics of business management. These will constitute further future focuses of continuing education. There is need for standardizing and certification of courses which would help participants to advance their careers. Teaching and learning materials are lacking in most of the relevant subject areas. They will first have to be developed or adopted with due prudence from western countries and adapted to Bulgarian conditions.

Like in 1991, DVV was also able to assist the Bulgarian Federation for the Dissemination of Knowledge in 1992 in the acquisition of equipment necessary for administration and the production of materials, and for electronic data processing. Assistance of this nature will strengthen the autonomy of the association particularly in meeting the costs of producing teaching aids and course materials.

During the coming years, however, the joint work will place stronger emphasis on projects devoted to content and methods, and basic and advanced training of Bulgarian adult educators will take precedence. Workshops will be organized in that connection, offers will be realized in the development of teaching plans, particularly in the foreign language and commercial sectors, advice will be offered in methodology and didactics, and workshops will be held for instructors and examiners on the introduction of standardized certificates and diplomas. Arrangements will be made with important institutions of German and European adult education to host decision makers of current and possibly other future partner organizations in particular during visits organized for the purpose of study or to obtain information. One of the main elements of support for Bulgarian adult education will be the involvement of various *Volkshochschulen* in arrangements of cooperation.

6.6 CIS and the Baltic Republics

The opening up of the former Soviet Union towards the Western world since the end of the 1980s has permitted a deeper insight into its economic and political reality. At the same time, it has become possible to take a closer look at the basic and advanced educational systems of a few republics of CIS and the Baltic. Moreover, it is now easier to reinforce links with organizations pursuing similar interests or the same line of work. Although, as a matter of principle, ties did exist during the past, they remained at the level of professional contact and did not lead to any concrete arrangements of cooperation. Considerable interest exists on the part of the Baltic states and several CIS republics to cooperate with DVV in the areas of continuing education, retraining and the acquisition of new skills in areas previously unknown or little known in the CIS republics such as the new technologies, social market economy, management or Western European languages.

6.6.1 CIS

The situation being as described, in March and September of 1992, DVV's Institute of International Cooperation sent a study commission, which also included professionals from a number of German *Volkshochschulen*, to Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, in order to look into the situation of further education there. It was found in those countries, as anticipated, that there is only peripheral knowledge of further education in the form as practised, for example, in Germany. Advanced training according to the Soviet model existed either in the form of evening courses for basic foreign language instruction, or in supplementary vocational or enterprise training. There was also an area of political and philosophical awareness training as provided, among others, by *Znanie*, the Knowledge Society. There is no approach to continuing education that could also be interpreted as a means for personal enrichment, political and social participation, satisfaction of the individual yearning for knowledge, or as a place where adults could go to form their own opinions. In this regard the republics belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States have a considerable need for communication and cooperation.

During the course of the study trips, contacts were established with various institutions of continuing education, ministries, city administrations, business enterprises and cooperatives. The Institute was able to agree upon arrangements of cooperation with some of these institutions during the course of 1992, and has already begun to initiate measures.

In November of 1992, an initial advanced training workshop in adult education was held in Kiev, Ukraine, around the theme »Participatory Adult Education«. The workshop was prepared by DVV's Institute of International Cooperation in collaboration with a number of instructors from various *Volkshochschulen*. One of its goals was to become better acquainted with the counterpart organizations from CIS states regarding the practical application of their work. The participants were instructors and organizers from continuing education institutes of Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan with whom the members of the DVV commission had established contact during the course of their study trips. The progress of the workshop was satisfactory. It was suggested by participants that such »multiplier« workshops should be held in Kazakhstan and Russia as well.

6.6.1.1 Russia

The Institute initiated cooperation in 1992 with two very distinct adult education organizations: the so-called Russian Knowledge Society or *Znanie*, and the Moscow Continuing Education Center (*Moskovskij Centr Nepreryvnogo Obrazovanija*).

Formerly a Soviet Communist Party instrument, the »Society for Dissemination of Knowledge«, was newly established in 1991 as the Knowledge Society, and is presently undergoing a process of reorganization. It will now, as it states, have to mobilize its own resources. *Znanie* is the only still existing continuing education organization with a functioning network of over 80 branches in many cities of Russia. It possesses its own physical infrastructure including conference facilities in Soci, and a planetarium in St. Petersburg. The Institute also has ties of cooperation with the relatively large subsidiary organization in St. Petersburg, and a branch situated in the western Siberian city of Omsk.

Former *Znanie* outposts in other CIS states have separated from the Russian *Znanie* and are attempting to build up continuing education institutes on their own. Attempts are also being launched in Russia itself to found private continuing education organizations. One of them is the Moscow Continuing Education Center which has a staff of around 10 members, and is trying to secure a niche in the information sector and to offer courses in new educational fields such as gerontology, ecology, etc. Since private adult education organizations have no material backing whatever, they are obliged to raise their resources almost completely through enrolment fees. Moreover, they are viewed as competition to societal organizations, a fact that renders them much more difficult to develop than already existing institutions that only have to be reorganized.

Two factors that the Institute deems decisive for adult education can be combined through the cooperation with said partners. On the one hand, at least in the European regions and in the most thickly settled regions of Siberia, *Znanie*, the larger of the two partners, has the advantage of an existing outpost structure through which a large number of multipliers can be reached. On the other, the smaller and more flexible partner, the Moscow Continuing Education Center, offers a series of new topics like ecology, tax law, gerontology etc. that are now in higher demand in Russia.

Since it is quite difficult to imagine a country as large as Russia (11 time zones) with a tightly woven net of adult education institutions, a partner combination of this nature would appear beneficial for the cooperation. On the one hand it will be possible, during the course of the coming years, to reach a large number of target groups seeking retraining and further education in Western European languages, data processing etc. At the same time a flexible spectrum of topics could be offered that are more closely tuned to the contemporary and specific needs of the participants.

. Working closely and on the spot in colaboration with our partner organizations through field offices directed by experienced adult educators has proved a positive experience in Hungary and Poland. Therefore, within the scope of financial possibilities, consideration is being given to adopt this form of cooperation for the countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic countries as well. The Institute's current operating budget would be able to support one field office. In view of criteria such as population figures, replication effect, and partner situations, Russia would appear to be the most suitable location for such an office. Since economic and political developments there are taking place at a staggering pace, the ability to recognize, judge and react to changing circumstances will require stationary presence in the country. Furthermore, there must be direct contact with the partners in such a large country since the subject focuses in such diverse regional and ethnic areas can only be competently substantiated and decided upon in direct visits allowing the formation of first hand impressions. Those tasks cannot be mastered from headquarters in Germany.

6.6.1.2 Kazakhstan

Contacts to continuing education institutions were established and reinforced during the course of the cited study trip to Kazakhstan and a workshop for multipliers in Kiev with participants from Kazakhstan. An ensuing cooperation agreement is expected to be formalized during the course of 1993. In order to learn more about the situation of adult education in Kazakhstan and become better acquainted with various providers, the Institute is planning to hold an adult education workshop in Alma-Ata during 1993 around the theme of vocational training. Kazakhstan is rich in raw materials that in former times were processed in what today constitutes the Russian Federation. Kazakhstan intends to build up its own processing industry and to offer its products on the world market.

To date the Institute has been in contact with the organization *Znanie* in Kazakhstan, the cotton cooperative Alma-Ata, the Kazakh University and the Institute for Management Development.

The cotton cooperative in Alma-Ata is one of the largest employers in the region, and conducts its own courses in vocational training and the commercial sector. Now that Kazakhstan has become more open towards West and East, it will have to set new standards in regard to technologies, methodology and languages.

The Institute for Management Development provides courses for specialists and managing personnel in the area of economics and political science, and is affiliated with the ministerial cabinet of Kazakhstan.

6.6.1.3 Ukraine

The study trip cited above to Ukraine and the multiplier workshop in Kiev permitted the establishment of contacts to a number of providers of adult and continuing education in Ukraine, including, among others, the Ukrainian *Znanie*, the University of Kiev and the House for Economics and Technology.

The House for Economics and Technology is interested in setting up a »model *Volkshochschuie*« in Kiev. Discussions on this idea have been held together with representatives of the *Volkshochschule* of Munich inter alia. In this connection, the partnership between the cities of Munich and Kiev may prove to be helpful in fostering continuing education.

6.6.2 The Baltic Republics

In autumn of 1992 representatives of DVV's Institute for International Cooperation visited Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in order to become better acquainted with the current status of continuing education there.

The situation in the Baltic republics is somewhat different than that existing in the Commonwealth of Independent States, a circumstance already manifest in the unbroken affinity of those republics towards Northern Europe even during the so-called »Soviet Era«, and the obvious tendency of their peoples to revert to their own traditions. Nevertheless, in those countries as well, there is an immense need to form contacts with continuing education organizations like DVV, in order to enter concrete arrangements of cooperation and pave the way for professional exchange.

Contacts were initiated with various institutions (continuing education organizations, ministries, city administrations), several of which are likely candidates for joint undertakings.

6.6.2.1 Estonia

Tallinn: the Ministry of Education, the Estonian »umbrella organization« for adult education institutes (Andras), the Estonian Popular Art Training Center, the Estonian Adult Training Center.

The Ministry of Education is officially in charge of the entire education system. Its Institute for Adult Education is a possible candidate for the perspective cooperation. At present, new education legislation is in the process of being drafted.

Andras is an umbrella organization for approximately 25 continuing education institutes in Estonia. It holds annual summer courses for the advanced training of course tutors and planning staff in the field of adult education.

The Estonian Popular Art Training Center is a continuing education institute dedicated to the area of arts, which provides further education for multipliers.

At the Estonian Adult Training Center, intensive courses are held for adults in computer technology and languages.

6.6.2.2 Latvia

Riga: *Zinibu Biedribas* (the Latvian Continuing Education Society), the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education and private adult education organizations.

The Latvian Continuing Education Society, which has replaced the former Latvian *Znanie*, operates 47 continuing education centers throughout Latvia. They include language centers in seven cities. As a politically independent organization, it is responsible for financing 50% of its own work. The other 50% is funded by enrolment fees or establishments that make provision for educating their staffs.

The Ministry of Culture is responsible for 85 large and around 200 smaller art studios for measures of cultural education. The work of the cultural folk high school in Murmuiza, where artistic and general education events are held, is exemplary.

The Ministry of Education is officially in charge of the entire education system. Its department of extra-mural education and adult education is a perspective partner for cooperation. There is an annual schedule with courses and functions on the history and literature of Latvia, folklore, languages and health education. During the first part of May 1993, representatives from various continuing education organizations, the government, and German professionals experienced in adult education will take part in a round table conference to be held in Riga on the topic »Current Status and Perspectives of Adult Education in Latvia«.

6.6.2.3 Lithuania

Vilnius: Ministry for Culture and Education, Society for Adult Education and the Dissemination of Knowledge (*Zinija*), the Society for Adult Education, the Pedagogical University of Vilnius

In order to become better acquainted with the situation of adult and continuing education, the directors of the *Volkshochschulen* of Bonn and Duisburg visited Lithuania from the 7th through the 11th of December 1992. The aim of their visit was to determine what efforts are being made in the area of adult education, and the form in which the German Adult Education Association might assist to further the development of this area of education. Discussions took place at the Ministry for Education and Culture, and with the Society for Adult Education. The latter organization was established on July 31, 1992, and has a current nationwide membership of more than 50 private individuals, groupings and institutions. Another potential partner could be the Society for Adult Education and Dissemination of Knowledge, *»Zinija«*, which is active in major cities and in four districts. An interesting example of independent adult education is the »Sunday School« at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas. Interest was registered in Vilnius as well in a workshop for multipliers in adult education, representatives of educational institutes and voluntary workers in the sector.

7. Outlook

The foregoing report provides an overview of the cooperation established over the course of the past two years between the Institute for International Cooperation of DVV and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. While significant progress has been made in cooperation with certain countries like Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, we are still in the beginning stages in countries like Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Baltic states. In addition, solicitations from other republics including Belarus, Moldova, Armenia and Georgia are pending investigation. Careful approaches must be taken with each of the new republics due to their distinct histories. Contents of cooperation and methodical needs may appear to be similar, yet every country requires its own emphases and its own work procedures.

In DVV's Institute for International Cooperation we are confronted with a wide scope of tasks in developing lines of cooperation with the middle eastern European countries, with CIS and with the Baltic States. These tasks have to be tackled, and in the course of the coming years we will endeavour as best we can to address them together with our partners, drawing on the professional resources of our association and utilizing financial aid to the extent of the possibilities available to us for that purpose.

Michael Samlowski

Polish and German coexistence

Germany's longest eastern border separates our country from Poland. Far more than is usual in the history of inter-European relations — far more even than in Germany's relations to its other neighbouring states — the history between Germany and Poland has been marked by strife and conflict, hate and prejudice, war and a policy which forced a multitude of people into exile. The history of the Polish partitions comes to mind, in which Germany, or its historical kingdoms and states, always played an active role. The Second World War was a terrifying experience that left deep scars on the memory of many of our contemporaries. Poland suffered a terrible bloodletting during that war, from which it has not yet fully recovered even today. It must not be forgotten that a vast number of the Jewish people exterminated under Nazi rule were Polish. Neither to be forgotten is the heroic and yet vain uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto, nor the countless Poles who lost their lives not as soldiers in battle, nor as civilian casualties, but as »Slavic subhumans« transported to concentration camps or deported to labour camps in the interest of the German war industry. The expulsion of millions of Germans after the war from East Prussia, from Pomerania, from Silesia, their home for as long can be remembered, has not been forgotten, either.

After the Second World War it became possible to normalize relations with our western neighbours. Political and economic integration have largely succeeded. Borders are relatively open. Life styles and standards are not characterized by wide gulfs. People can come together, and they have learned to appreciate and respect one another wherever they do.

The division of Europe into two blocs, whose boundary ran through the middle of our country as the »iron curtain«, hindered a similar development with our eastern neighbours until just recently. Now that the iron curtain has been torn down, and we are suddenly confronting one another without walls, fences and barbed wire, we are beginning to realize the gap that kept us apart. We are strangers to one another, eyeing each other sceptically, not without apprehension, and we are just beginning to become mutually acquainted. We have to hurry, for conditions are not favourable. For many, social transition in former socialist countries means insecurity, unemployment and poverty — circumstances not likely to foster an encounter free of prejudice. The situation in eastern Germany is hardly any better, and already there is fear of Polish competition over jobs and earning possibilities which have become scarce. Poles have already been verbally abused in German cities and stones have been thrown at their busses and cars. We do not have much time!

As adult educators we must make an especially dedicated effort to acquaint our peoples with one another and bring about a reconciliation. The German Adult Education Association (DVV) and its Department for International Cooperation are firmly resolved to address that task. Through the following contributions we wish to give our readers a closer look at an initiative organized as a first step towards improving the coexistence of Poles and Germans along our mutual border.

The workshop: »Coexistence of Poles and Germans in the area of adult education«

The Federal Minister for Education and Science of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Minister for National Education of the Republic of Poland, in cooperation with the Council of Europe, invited representatives of adult education institutions and community administrations on both sides of the German-Polish frontier to a two-day workshop under the theme »Coexistence of Poles and Germans in the Area of Adult Education«. The Department for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV) was entrusted with the details of organization.

The workshop took place on September 14th and 15th, 1992. The cities of Guben and Gubin were chosen as venue for symbolic reasons. The geographical location of these communities, separated only by the Neisse river, made it possible to hold sessions on both sides of the border, offering several occasions to cross over in both directions during the course of the workshop.

The workshop was intended as an opportunity to come up with ideas for projects in an effort to foster the future coexistence and mutual understanding between the people of the two nations, and, as concretely as possible, to plan the implementation of those projects. Potentially suitable activities included the mutual learning of each other's language, becoming acquainted with one another's culture, music, literature and art and history, in particular within the more immediate region, joint participation in sports and leisure time activities, but also the co-determination of continuing educational functions related to the unique geographical and economic features of the border area, or concerted efforts in environmental conservation.

The workshop brought together more than a hundred Polish and German adult educators, representatives of local government, school authorities, and ministry officials. The participants organized themselves into work groups, each concentrating on one of the four German-Polish border areas, in order to take a precise inventory of already existing contacts of cooperation, to determine where deficits exist and why, and to work on proposals for measures to improve cooperation in the interest of both sides.

Along with the many details of information and ideas that resulted from the work sessions, the following obervations were synthesized from group reports:

1. It became clear that there are already a large number of cooperation initiatives within the German-Polish border area, both in the private sector and at the community level. However, systematic development of such initiatives has not yet been possible and, in part, the efforts remain unstructured.

2. There is a lack of reciprocal information on programs, institutions, administrations and working conditions. The deficit in this area is great, and there was general consensus on the need to organize a bilingual information service.

3. There was no lack of ideas for projects of cooperation in connection with vocational training, retraining programs, courses in the field of business and secretarial training, foreign language courses, cultural education or environmental education. However, the proposed ideas still have to be brought into a more concrete and feasible form.

4. Accordingly, the workshop has revealed the necessity for additional efforts, beginning with follow-up workshops on the areas of focus in the four border regions, and calling for systematic participation on the part of the relevant institutions.

5. The organization of a German-Polish coordinating office for cooperation in the area of continuing education, for which support was promised by the Federal Minister for Education and Science, was generally approved. It was agreed that the function of such an office should include systematic collection and distribution of information on institutions, programs, possibilities for aid and potential areas for cooperation; facilitating en-

counters and opportunities for exchange between potential partners; and lending support to model cooperation ventures.

Guben and Gubin were only a beginning. They revealed the extent of the task involved for the continuing education sector to employ its means towards helping Germans and Poles to meet one another impartially and in the spirit of neighbourly respect despite all the terrible experiences of the past, despite all reservations and prejudices, and to learn to work together rather than against one another. But unless the first steps are taken, no progress will be possible. It is hoped that the workshop and the following documents will help to steer those steps in the right direction.

In the following pages we are publishing the texts of the addresses presented at the workshop by the keynote speakers, Mr. Markinciewicz, Deputy Minister for National Education of the Republic of Poland, and Dr. Boppel, the representative of the Ministry for Education and Science of the Federal Repulbic of Germany, as well as Gerhard Polack's summary of the results of one of the work groups, which are indicative of the plans and concerns debated in Guben and Gubin.

Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz

Adult education in the process of rebuilding the economy — Implications, needs and priorities

The age we live in is an age in which great transitions are taking place in the state, economic, social and political structures of the countries of Europe.

Its beginnings already go back a few decades. Some of the transformations are being effected very rapidly — those, for example, along our boundaries. Along our western boundary we have the Federal Republic of Germany which belongs to the European Community, along the eastern boundary we have not one, but four neighbours, namely: Belarus, Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine.

Other changes, including reorganization of the economic system, take time: Laws have to be rewritten, mentality has to be reshaped.

Important transformations have been taking place elsewhere in the world simultaneous to the long awaited and indeed anticipated transformations in our region.

During the past decade there has been a substantial change in the philosophy relating to world economy. It has not only been characterized by rapid changes in science and technology, but also by the necessity to conserve energy and natural resources, the need for environmental protection and for harmonious co-existence with the entire environment.

The changes in the economic philosophy of the world have affected various sectors of activity. Among other things, the average level of education has risen, and there is new scientific knowledge to deal with (for example in bio-technology or data processing). The international market has become more competitive, and at the same time the economy has become dependent upon imports and exports. This has resulted in the necessity for a concerted effort in production on the part of everyone subject to the international division of labour, and for rapid adjustments in the levels of technology and techniques.

We are also observing how significantly higher standards are being applied to technologies as well as to products, services and personal qualifications in many areas.

We know that highly industrialized nations attach substantial value to the basic and advanced training of skilled workers in every field and at every level, and that the training of specialists receives particular emphasis both in the technical sciences as well as in knowledgeable and competent administration and organization.

It is generally recognized that, to an ever-increasing degree, prosperity and the quality of life depend on the qualifications and attitude of skilled workers.

The entire labour force will be needed to implement the tasks ensuing from the technological transformations that are altering global economy, and particularly the economies of Central and Eastern Europe. Workers must have confidence in the new reality and must be prepared to face it. The training of personnel at the management level will have to be given preferential treatment, since management is in a position to convince the workforce of the advantages of the proposed transformations. As a further step in the process, training will have to be directed at the various workers by sector. That is necessary in order to achieve success. It is also a vitally important factor in the age of economic transformation.

Last year at the World Conference for Continuing Education, the delegates from the United States stated that advanced professional training of highly qualified workers, mainly those in the middle of their working lives, is probably the most rapidly developing sector in the USA today.

Attention was brought to the fact that the fast pace of technical change, the intensity of basic research, the need for haste in incorporating research results into products and procedures, and the continually changing structures of industry and society all add up to a situation in which more is needed than merely a good education. What is needed is permanent continuing education.

It was stressed that basic and advanced training are of prime importance for the ability to compete for both the individual businessman as well as for industry as a whole.

Innovations, new products and new technologies bring about changes in commercial structures and demand appropriately qualified workers. In order to ensure that the structural changes in the wake of innovations not be delayed through the lack of qualified workers, it will be necessary to expedite the development of new systems of continuing education. The situation is the same for vocational retraining programs.

It must be borne in mind that adjusting to revised working conditions will require the efforts of employers, of higher education institutes, and of the government. Furthermore, it will require commitment on the part of the people directly affected, for, needless to say, in countries where technologies are developing at a rapid pace, it becomes necessary for individuals to modify or supplement their professional or vocational qualifications in order to meet the demands of the labour market. Such an attitude is acquired already at school. One might say that school is the main place of preparation for life-long learning.

It is generally accepted that knowledge will be the most important and highly regarded asset of the future. I would like to add that this does not mean knowledge learned only one, but rather knowledge that is continually being acquired.

The present state of the economy in Poland will also require rapid development of industry through the introduction of new techniques and technologies, swift modernization of product lines, higher production standards and a reorganization not just of industry, but of the entire commercial sector.

This will not be possible without the preparation of skilled workers. The scope of the problem is tremendous, as continued training measures and programs to upgrade the qualifications of skilled workers will be required in every sector of industry and commerce as well as in administration. What is implicated, in fact, is each and every diverse sector of society.

To cite a few examples:

- 450,000 people need retraining in the area of administration,
- in the area of local government, there are 30,000 people who should be retrained already today and there will be a successive need to train new workers,
- nearly 100,000 people need retraining in the area of marketing,
- in the area of modern techniques and technologies there are around 200,000 persons,

- in the area of modern agriculture and processing of agricultural products the figure is approximately 200,000,
- in the area of commerce there are around 150,000 persons,
- around 1,200,000 persons need to learn foreign languages, and this figure does not include the younger group.

In order to train such a great number of people at all the different levels, it will be necessary to begin at the top level with teacher preparation. Accordingly, in every area mentioned, teacher training will have to be given the highest priority.

Moreover, programs will be necessary to help people to understand that in a market economy on the labour market professional and vocational qualifications have the value of a product. A high quality of that product will provide the basis for economic development.

Various aspects must be taken into consideration in confronting the problem of training skilled workers to meet the demands of the market economy and government. The first point to consider is the time factor. Concepts will be needed on long-term, medium-term and short-term levels, and immediate decisions will have to be taken. The second aspect is connected with the formal and non-formal systems of qualifying skilled workers. The third takes the foregoing into account, but ties the need for education in the area of changing principles and the mentality of society to the changes in philosophy on the acquisition of new and complementary qualifications. Moreover, it is geared to a broad knowledge of environment and appropriate environmental behaviour, as well as to an understanding of the market economy, including its labour market, and the ability to adjust thereto.

The aforementioned problems cannot be separated from education on the necessity of the market economy, neither in formal school systems nor in the extra-mural sector.

The current situation of society and the changes in the economic system call for particular emphasis on extra-mural education, since the segments of society particularly affected by the changes — the people who need to be involved in influencing the process — are also working people.

In this situation, the role of the Ministry for National Education is all the more important, because many alternate solutions effective in highly industrialized countries are not yet possible in our country. At present there are four tasks confronting the Ministry for National Education:

First: It must enlighten society on the changes taking place in economic and social life, and clarify the mechanisms existing in market economy.

Second: It must forestall the negative consequences of economic reform. In other words, it must organize training programs in the relevant and frequently new sectors, particularly for persons who are unemployed or threatened by redundancy.

Third: Adult education must not neglect its role in personal development and the awakening of intellectual and cultural interests that bring personal satisfaction.

Fourth: Adult education must also offer people who have interrupted their school careers for whatever reason the opportunity to finish their education.

There are considerable difficulties on the government level confronting the fulfilment of those tasks.

The first difficulty is in recognizing the direction and pace of economic transition from a centrally-planned economy to a market economy. It is as yet hard to tell how industry, commerce and services will develop in Poland.

The second difficulty lies in the very limited organizational structures of society, particularly in the paucity of associations, organizations and institutions able to provide relevant adult education.

The problems connected with the transformation of the economy and with retraining or upgrading qualifications on the free market exist in all of the so-called post-communist countries. They are difficult problems.

At the same time, the chance to live in a united Europe creates new challenges: mutual understanding and respect, the recognition of individual identity and culture, the ability to co-exist and cooperate, possibilities for exchange in trade and tourism, acceptance of both similarities as well as differences. Frequently, in facing those challenges, it is necessary to overcome hesitancy towards or prejudices against the other side. The current situaton in society makes those problems all the more difficult; in particular the vehement and negative opinions expressed by extremist groups can cause discord and destroy concerted efforts towards mutual understanding.

Nevertheless, in the name of a mutual future in peace, successful measures must be initiated to foster mutual understanding and cooperation.

The most proven and effective manner to foster the achievement of those goals is mutual education.

I therefore believe that cooperation along the border in all areas of adult education can have vital bearing on bilateral relations.

Many equally acute problems arise on both sides of the border. Exchange of experience and cooperation can consequently prove to be a very fruitful road to their solution.

With the hope of achieving such a cooperation, I wish you success in the realization of the tasks you are facing, and much happiness in your own private lives, for happiness is a prerequisite to wholehearted commitment in professional life.

Werner Boppel

New chances for neighbourly living and learning in a uniting Europe

Mr. Marcinkiewicz, Ladies and Gentlemen,

it is a great pleasure for me to welcome you on behalf of the Federal Government and the Federal Ministry of Education and Science to the German-Polish initiative on continuing education. We have come together in a mutual effort to consider how good neighbourly relations and understanding can be supported and secured within the framework of continuing education between the Polish and German peoples on both sides the Oder and the Neisse.

German-Polish history is replete with painful experiences. The present years provide occasion for Europe to recall three Polish partitions that took place 200 years ago. Beyond the middle of this century, Poland has been repeatedly victimized by its powerful neighbours to the East and West. Thousands of people residing along the banks of the Oder and the Neisse today were dislodged from their homes as victims of an arrangement designed in Teheran in 1943, without participation of the exile government of Poland, that awarded Poland the eastern territories once belonging to Germany in compensation for its own lost territories. Polish families were forced to leave their homes in Pinsk, Rowno or Tarnopol and were resettled in places like Stettin, Hirschberg or Breslau, cities from which German families were driven. No one asked the victims. As so often happens in history, men, women and children had to leave their homes and lands and find new places to live. It is particularly distressing for me to see how little mankind is apparently able to learn from history. That failure confronts us every evening on television in the pictures of agony and the countless people being driven from nearly every region of Yugoslavia.

If today — nearly 50 years later — we hope for positive relations between the German and Polish peoples living near the border, we cannot close our eyes to the obstacles hindering such a development. Regrettably, during the past 50 years of German-Polish history, experience with Germany has not always been harmonious for the people of Poland. The relationship between the People's Republic of Poland and the former German Democratic Republic was defined, among other things, by the propagation of a socialist friendship between peoples under Soviet hegemony, which had just the opposite effect on many Poles, and many Germans in the German Democratic Repbulic as well. Unfortunately, under the veil of a state-ordained friendship between Poland and the German Democratic Republic, a potential for tension was created without any opportunity for release. Conflicts could not be resolved because, officially, they did not exist. Moreover, the official German Democratic Republic had exonerated itself from any responsibility for the wrongs committed by the Germans against the Poles before 1945. It is clear that such a situation considerably hindered an understanding between Poland and the German Democratic Republic. At the same time, however, I am convinced that many effective individual, local, or regional relations did exist between people of good will, enterprises, associations, church congregations and others. Perhaps during the course of this conference there will be an occasion to discuss one or the other successful effort in that category.

Unlike the imposed socialistic relations with the German Democratic Republic, the contact developing with the Federal Republic of Germany over the past 25 years provides a footing upon which we can continue to build today. The reverence shown by German Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1970 as he knelt before the monument to those who perished in the Warsaw ghetto uprising is a gesture not easily forgotten. Three important German-Polish agreements which have since been signed have created the formal framework for a friendly relationship between our peoples.

And yet: As important as such agreements and their ensuing government commissions are: a prosperous relationship between neighbours has to start at the bottom. Friendship between peoples is based on a web of thousands of individual relationships and mutual activities at individual, local and regional levels. It is encouraging to know that there is an abundance of such personal dedication. There are 20 German-Polish associations and societies, 18 in western Germany and two that have recently been established near the border in Brandenburg and Saxony. The Alliance for German-Polish Understanding, an umbrella organization for those societies, publishes the very helpful periodical »Dialog«, that serves as a valuable resource and provides an organ for those seeking to promote German-Polish understanding. Other recent examples that merit mention are the efforts of the association »Die Brücke« (the Bridge) in Frankfurt, and a project that goes by the name »German-Polish History«. The Polish side presumably has similar initiatives of its own as well.

In this connection, the state is more like a gardener who fertilizes the flowers, giving support and providing the right climate for the plants to thrive. It belongs to the tasks of the state to establish institutions that are concerned with issues like Polish literature (the *Deutsches Poleninstitut* comes to mind here), or to promote specific activities as in the case of the »Deutsch-polnisches Jugendwerk«, a recently started German-Polish youth initiative.

The continuing education effort that has brought us together here was prompted by the incidents that took place in Frankfurt on the Oder on April 8, 1991, an occasion of disgrace for us Germans, when German right wing radical rowdies threw stones at Polish vehicles. In May, representatives of 16 countries belonging to the

Council of Europe gathered in Strasbourg to promote contributions on the part of adult education towards social transition. At that conference, the German delegate, Dr. Michael Hirsch from the Federal Ministry of Education and Science, approached the Polish delegate, Mrs. Anna Levenstam from the Polish Labour Ministry, and proposed the organization of a German-Polish continuing education initiative to support neighbourly relations along the Oder and the Neisse. I am very grateful to the Ministry for National Education of the Republic of Poland for reacting as positively towards those suggestions as the Polish delegate at the Council of Europe. The fact that we are both here today demonstrates how important this new continuing education initiative is for us. The projected venture has also been met with much interest and approval by the committees at the Council of Europe.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the persons who organized the details of this conference for us: the representatives of the National Ministry for Education of the Republic of Poland, the Department for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, Mr. Greger and the DVV office in Warsaw, and the *Volkshochschule* in Guben.

I imagine that many of you are thinking: Right now we have other things to worry about in the continuing education sector beside the relationship between Germany and Poland. At present there are indeed three other problems that take priority on both sides of the border: The reconstruction of a pluralistic continuing education system is still incomplete; the main interest of the participants lies in the professional and vocational training that should help to secure or create jobs, and support the tremendous process of converting a centrally planned economy into a socially-oriented market economy. Continuing education in the political sphere, on the other hand, has been discredited both here and on the other side of the border as well due to the long decades of its abuse as a state instrument of power and manipulation.

Such objections must be taken seriously. But I would ask you to bear in mind that the neighbourly initiative that we are about to launch can also play a positive role in all those areas. It provides a sensible example of democratically designed continuing education with political character; it demonstrates how elements of continuing education, both general and political, can also be incorporated within the vocational sector; and it broadens the spectrum of opportunities that continuing education institutions can offer by including elements of further education on a general plane.

It is up to you to decide what kind of continuing education opportunities are best suited to foster good neighbourly relations. I can mention a number of possibilities as they occur to me, but they should only be viewed as a stimulus for discussion.

- How about so-called tandem courses in the area of foreign language? The idea is to arrange for joint recreational activities where Polish people learning German and Germans learning Polish could meet to help teach one another the languages.

- Tracing roots is a proven method in courses on current history: Participants search for signs of recent history in their own surroundings.

- In the area of environmental education, joint activities in border areas could lead to ties: for example collecting litter along the banks or conserving biotopes.

- Tandem methods are also feasible in the area of arts and crafts and courses organized around hobbies: Participants could hold mutual demonstrations to show one another the different forms of native arts and crafts on either side of the border.

- Where long-term unemployment is concerned, mutual activities could provide links: for example the joint renovation of an old ship or the maintenance and repair of a cultural monument.

- In video courses Germans and Poles could produce joint films on regional culture and history.
- In computer courses electronic communication could be used and German-Polish mailboxes could be installed.
- Joint orchestras and choral groups could cultivate musical culture here and across the Oder and the Neisse and could bring the music of the two countries to the people of Germany and Poland through concerts.

As I said, these are merely examples and suggestions for discussion. I am certain you will come up with still other very different ideas.

What probably interests you more than my ideas is the scope of financial support that can be expected from the two governments. Agreements between the participating Ministries do not exist as yet, since we first want to wait and see what this conference will bring in the way of concrete agreements between providers of continuing education. Should plans result for an attractive program, the Federal Ministry for Education and Science is prepared to provide material help for a period of two years as a start. Subsidies are conceivable, for example, to cover the cost of transporting groups of participants by bus, train or ship, or of materials and instructor fees vital to the implementation of a course. I further imagine that we could provide funds to set up a small office to manage resources, make proposals, form links and publish an informational bulletin.

Your task today and tomorrow will be to develop ideas for concrete projects that your particular agency can offer, to find a partner on the other side of the Oder/Neisse who can collaborate in its realization, and to plan a mutual course of action. The organizers of this initiative hope to receive a large number of declarations of intent in writing at the end of the conference. The two ministries can then use the material submitted as a guide when considering where to channel support.

Ladies and Gentlemen, all boundaries in this world have a painful aspect: They separate people, although what really matters everywhere is being able to recognize what people have in common and to overcome what divides them. In western Europe there are national borders that have lost all their separating quality. The boundary posts are perhaps the only thing that distinguish them as borders. The Oder and the Neisse form a boundary in the middle of the European continent. Much water will flow down the Oder and the Neisse before the only recognizable feature of the boarder there, too, will be the frontier stones. That will not happen on its own. It can only be the result of long and untiring efforts of the peoples living on either side of the border. I wish you and ourselves all the courage, imagination and strength it will take to accomplish.

Gerhard Polack

Summary of the seminar on German-Polish Cooperation in the border area, as exemplified by the results of workgroup 1

1. Participants in Group 1 of the workshop included:

- a selected number of authorities from the educational system of the Province of Szczecin under the direction of the superintendent of schools, Mr. Pieczynski, and the delegate in charge of cooperation with Germany in that Province, Mrs. Boczkowska.

- Directors and instructors from *Volkshochschulen* together with teachers from Vorpommern (*Land* Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) and Uckermark (in the north-eastern section of the *Land* Brandenburg).

2. The Polish side came to the talks at this workshop with a clear concept and with competent representatives from the Provincial government, while the German side was not represented by any officials in responsible positions at community or regional levels, although they did have knowledgeable participants.

3. The workshop was directed by Mr. Gerhard Polack from the Brandenburg association of the German *Europa-Union* and Zbigniew Pieczynski, Superintendent of Schools in the Province of Szczecin.

4. Discussions on the topic were, on the whole, very interesting and conducted in a constructive manner. They led to sugges-

tions for diverse projects of cooperation in border areas, but at times far exceeded the realistic potential of the educational systems on both sides. Proposals met their feasibility limitations when the question of finances arose.

5. Nevertheless, the talks led to offers of direct cooperation between *Volkshochschulen* in Vorpommern (Anklam, Pasewalk) and institutions of adult education in the region of Szczecin. The parties in question voiced their intention to meet within the foreseeable future in order to draft more concrete plans.

6. Proposals for cooperation were made in the following areas:

a) Training and retraining in vocational areas

Organization of courses, workshops and talks:

- on the task of customs and border authorities, on border procedures and border regulations,
- on the system of international controls and accounting in frontier traffic,
- on marketing,
- on acquisitions,
- on business activities in administration and business,
- on computer operation in administration and business,
- on the development of tourism,
- on the development of frontier trade and E.C. customs and trade laws,

- on the employment of numerically controlled machines,
- on the development of crafts and trades,
- on the encouragement of modern construction techniques,
- on training of managers and on inter-country practical training for employees from administration and business.

b) **Widening of foreign language competence**

- through development and exchange of language courses for adults,
- through joint »language holidays« (courses running for a week at a time) for adults and young people,
- through training of language teachers in schools and adult education institutions,
- through the initiation of instruction in the language of the other country in schools on either side of the border; the development of language schools,
- through weekend language encounters,
- through teacher exchanges,
- through exchange of teaching materials and aids and experience in didactics and methods,
- through organization of practical language training on every level.

c) Conservation of nature and environment

Experience exchanges and workshops:

- to promote the preservation of nature in areas along the border (e.g. in »Unteres Odertal« National Park),
- to organize ecological competitions and Olympic games for school children and young adults,
- to draft plans for artistic competitions and follow-up exhibits on both sides of the border,
- to elaborate videos on the conservation of nature and environment in border areas,
- to compile a guidebook on regions along both sides of the border describing the unique features of the various regions; hiking trails; ideas for excursions etc.,
- to set up ecology workshops,
- to organize joint workshops and excursions to promote nature preservation and to develop the area of nature conservation,
- to work on techniques and technology; and to design methods and tools,
- to devise a recycling system and ways to avoid the production of waste material and environmental pollution,
- to promote ecological attitudes, a healthy lifestyle and sound nutrition,
- to design a model program geared to effective protection of the environment,

- to prepare a joint exhibit on environmental protection and the conservation of natural habitats.

d) Culture

- Experience exchanges relating to the cultivation of cultural values in children and adults,
- fostering such experiences through joint cultural workshops for teachers and instructors, directors of libraries and youth clubs and other members of the community active in the promotion of culture,
- development of concerted activities in,
    - general and cultural education and training,
    - culture, dance, folklore, theater, painting and sculpture etc.,
    - experience exchanges between artists and cultural agents in both regions,
    - publication of methodology books and translations,
    - the featuring of exhibits and setting up of galleries for professioal and amateur artists.
- Competitions and exhibitions for young people and school children, including reciprocal opportunities to sell works of art.

In addition to the foregoing proposals, ideas were discussed on arrangements of cooperation with independent German adult education organizations and state-sponsored institutes implementing Labour Department programs.

7. It was considered advisable and of first priority to establish a »Central Office« for the coordination of cooperation, provided, however, that it be staffed by technically and professionally competent individuals capable of arranging the necessary productive contacts between the most important decision makers in the border regions, community authorities and the national ministries. Staff selection would definitely have to be based on the principle of parity, and a minimum operating budget would have to be ensured. Direct contact partners could be the responsible persons from the three »Euro-regions« which are currently being established.

8. A large number of frontier contacts between Germany and Poland already exist in practice at the base level — from institution to institution, from school to school and on a person-to-person basis. They can be fostered, but not controlled, by communities and diverse agencies.

   Contacts between community officials and private enterprises cannot be organized on the basis of contracts as they correspond to different spheres of interest.

   In future, advantage should above all be taken of opportunities resulting from German-Polish treaties and the German-Polish youth initiative.

Alma Ata, Kazakhstan

Andrzej Szcypiorski is a well known Polish writer who has gained international recognition for the artistic quality and the honesty of his work as well as for his insights and opinions in the field of international relations, especially after the falling of the wall and the tearing down of the iron curtain and particularly in relation to the fate of two historical enemies and natural partners, Poland and Germany. In this interview, questions and problems are touched on which concern the cooperation of Poland with other European countries, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany as one of Poland's most important partners. The interview was conducted by Norbert F.B. Greger, Director of the DVV Office in Poland. This article is a reprint from the journal VOLKSHOCHSCHULE V, 1992.

Poland and the European partnership

An interview with the Polish author, Andrzej Szczypiorski, by Norbert F.B. Greger

How do you view European partnership in light of the difficulties facing the Republic of Poland?

Szczpiorski: Im am a moderate optimist. The partnership with the West is already a foregone conclusion. We must integrate whether we want to or not. Therefore my moderate optimism. Many of the problems in Poland, of course, are the consequence of communist economy. Poland owes its crisis to the communists who were in control for more than forty years. There are people in Poland who claim that the crisis is the making of the new government. That, of course, is not true. The new governments have done much to try and overcome the crisis, but the solution is not so easy. There naturally are objective reasons for Poland's complex agricultural situation. A few years ago we were still very proud of having supported private agriculture. That was any historical mistake, because it was precisely private agriculture that led to our current agricultural underdevelopment. Our agricultural system is too weak to compete with Common Market agriculture. We are now receiving food supplies from the West. They are better, less expensive, and more appealing. But we all know that agriculture in Common Market countries is subsidized. In our country, though, there are no subsidies. The Polish farmer is completely defenceless in the face of Common Market competition. We must remedy that situation as soon as possible. It is vitally important to the Polish economy.

Another problem is industry. Our industry is obsolete and run down, anachronistic and outmoded. It is simply unable to compete. So, what can we do. We cannot say: as of tomorrow we will phase out heavy industry. If we did, we would directly have to deal with another half a million unemployed people. Besides, it would be wrong to claim that there is no productive potential anywhere in the entire state economy. There are undertakings that merit our support. All that, however, needs time. Take the former German Democratic Republic. There is substantial input from the West, but unemployment there still exceeds 30% even if statistics say otherwise.

All that is a monumental problem for us, and I am convinced that without the help of the West our difficulties would be even greater.

We are conducting any historical experiment that is setting precedent. We are building up capitalism without capitalists, without capital and in complete absence of experience, for even the eldest of Poles have already forgotten capitalism. Before the war, too, capitalism in Poland was very poor and very weak. It cannot be a model for us. We are running up against psychological problems. We are dealing with incipient capitalism in our country. Incipient capitalism is cynical and aggressive. It is, in a word, inhuman. That is something to which Poles are not accustomed. They are demanding the state to give them everything they previously had. We were a poor country, but socially-minded, a state of social support.

The situation has changed radically and the people are saying: This is not what we wanted. We wanted something different. So, what is the third choice? There is only one alternative: Either true socialism or the free market. We therefore need time. Integration with the West is a necessity.

What, in your opinion, are the political and intellectual conditions for integration?

Szczypiorski: That is a complex process. Almost everyone you speak to is in favour of integration, but when it comes to details, they have objections and mental reservations. Unemployment, self-determination — everything related to human destiny is foreign to our citizens. Communism promoted a philosophy of life contrary to human nature, and it was therefore also contrary to the sovereignty of the human mind. We were denied sovereignty and independence. That made our existence effortless. As a Pole, I resided in the People's Republic without any responsibility for myself, without the burden of freedom, of free choice. The State, the Power, the Government decided where I had to work and live, when I should go on vacation, where I could spend that vacation, what my son was supposed to study and so on. Everything was state-run, and as an individual, as a person, I, too, was state-run. That, in effect, is slavery, but we have only just begun to see how complicated freedom is, what burden it implies. Today everyone has to decide for himself and everyone is responsible for himself, not only financially, but in an intellectual sense as well. The people in Poland are not prepared for that. Many reject the responsibility. They have claims against the state — the state that betrayed them. But the state that made them promises no longer exists.

It is not just a matter of painful developments like unemployment. The chief issue is what to do with our lives tomorrow and the day after, how to live. Intellectual independence has become an enormous burden. Five years ago, as a person and an author, I still believed in the existence of abstract freedom. I believed that we were all fighting for the same freedom. I believed we were fighting the communist power to gain our freedom. And we were. But I have only just come to realize that freedom is not an abstract concept. Freedom is nothing more than concrete details of life. They are what goes to make up my freedom. Freedom as an idealistic notion does not exist. What does freedom mean to me? A passport in my pocket. That I have. Freedom of words, of conscience, of thought, free sharing of ideas and opinions, doing away with censure. We already have that. I am now a free person. What does the abolishment of government censure mean for the Polish farmer? Absolutely nothing. He did not even know there was any censure. Or if he did, he did not see it as a problem. The farmer doesn't want a passport in his pocket. He doesn't want to go to Paris or to Warsaw either. He needs a different kind of freedom. He wants his pigs to sell. Five years ago the communist state came to him and in all humility asked: Do you have a little meat? And very capriciously he replied: Yes, but I'm not so sure I want to sell it. But the state seduced him. He sold his pigs and got coal, fertilizers and such in exchange. Now the farmer is saying: The market is free, but I am a slave. He does not know where to sell his products. He does not know where to buy coal. Fifty years is more than two generations. Those are the psychological barriers. Moreover, Polish people are very proud people. Whether our pride is justified is a different question, but we are proud. And now we are experiencing a kind of degradation or humiliation. We were the first on our side, the fighters for freedom in the communist camp, we were the most progressive in that camp. That gives us a sense of satisfaction. We suffered under the communists, but we were respected and regarded in the world. In Paris, London and Bonn we were the heroes who fought for freedom. Even if I exaggerate now, that's the way it was.

Now it's all over — finished. The communist power no longer exists, and now we are just one country in a democratic Europe. We no longer play the key role. The West knows better how to produce and wants to teach us. On the one hand we know we have to learn, on the other we feel as if we are being patronized.

We hear and read that we have to enter Europe. That is false. We have been in Europe for a thousand years. Europe must come to us. That is what the Pope said. That is indeed true in a cultural context, but technologically, from the angle of civilization we are backward. That must be said out loud. It is easy to say: We are Europeans, we do not need any help or instruction. We do need it! But it is wrong to try and get that across to the people of Poland brutally. That evokes their protest.

You spoke about a need for help. Do you expect specific help from the Federal Republic of Germany?

Szczypiorski: Yes. I expect special help from the Federal Republic. I am not speaking of financial help. What I envision is an intensive and close cooperation with the Federal Republic. What does integration with the West mean for Poland? The only way to the West leads through Germany. Therefore there must be integration with the Federal Republic — not with England or Spain. Spain is an exotic alliance for us. Poland has two large neighbours: Germany and Russia. I see integration with the West as economic integration with Germany, but not just economic. It is not just a matter of financial support. More important to my mind are the investments in Poland. If German capital comes to us, this does not merely mean the influx of capital and new investments, but also the know-how, managers, new technology, new jobs, new work organization. The German economy can likewise profit from such an arrangement. It is a reciprocal business. I am convinced that the former Soviet Union will become the world's largest market. Today the new republics are still very poor, but in ten, fifteen years they will be in a position to afford all that modern civilization can sell.

The only way that will lead Poland to the West, as I already said, is through the Federal Republic of Germany. But the only way for the Federal Republic to the East is through Poland. And without Poland it cannot make any investments or conduct any business with Russia, Belarus, Ukraine. I believe that the future of German economy — indeed the economy of the EC countries — will depend on the markets in the former Soviet countries. The citizens of EC countries are already well taken care of. Industry there has a large capacity. Where does a market exist if not in the East? Overproduction can only lead to a crisis. Poland will therefore have to become a laboratory for German investments. I also see cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany as cooperation in the area of science, of technology.

What implications do you see for the European partnership process in the obvious swing to the right in the Federal Republic?

Szczypiorski: It is, of course, an obstacle. However, I would not want to exaggerate in evaluating the situation and draw parallels with the Weimar Republic and the upsurge of the NSDAP. The economic setting is entirely different, but that is just the danger. Up to now we have thought that right wing extremists could only gain popularity in a poor country. Now we realize that is possible in a rich country as well. Foreigners are being attacked in the Federal Republic, but it has to be pointed out in that connection that Germany is the most open country of the world. The asylum laws presently existing in Germany are the most liberal of their kind in the world. To my mind, the political developments in Germany can be attributed to the deep crisis triggered by the collapse of communism. Twelve years ago Ronald Reagan said that the Soviet Union is the empire of evil. Now, as a modest person, I ask: The empire of evil has ceased to exist; where, then, is the evil? The devil is in ourselves, of course, and now he is making himself heard. Not just in Germany, but here, too, and also in France. Yugoslavia is a lesson to us. When the cat is not at home, the mice will play. Communism is defeated. Now nationalistic tendencies are awakening in every country. They are making themselves evident in Poland as well. Remember the protests against foreign capital. There are not many protests against foreigners themselves because we do not have that many in Poland. It remains to be seen, however, what will happen in connection with the Romanian Gypsies. Already there are a hundred thousand. Many are coming to us from the East. There is a new wave of migration, because everyone wants a better life. That has not created any social problem for us as yet. But in a year? The Russians are already working illegally in Poland.

But to come back to the right wing radicals in Germany. To my mind it is more a question of how German society reacts than the actual incidents in Rostock and other cities. I find it surprising that many politicians, that almost all the newspapers are worried about foreign opinion of the Germans. That appears to be the greatest concern for the Germans. But that is nothing more than German pride.

It is not important what the Poles, the French and Italians think. What is important is what the young people of Rostock think. That, however, is not the issue right now.

What I personally suspect, but cannot prove, is that these right-wing radical incidents in the Federal Republic are the expression of a political crisis, a crisis of the republican-democratic structure. They may be understood as an indication of mistrust toward the old political elite. The traditional parties in the Federal Republic of Germany are already a bit sclerotic, a bit outmoded. The young people in the eastern German states do not trust that those parties can solve their problems. Maybe that means a crisis for the old political structure. To me it appears the hour of truth has come. The Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union have to restructure. But that, too, takes time. The Polish parties are too young, the German parties too old.

Mr. Szczypiorski, you know the German Volkshochschulen. You maintain close contact with our President, Prof. Rita Süßmuth. You were a guest at the German Adult Education Day in Kassel and you were one of the founders of the Foundation of Popular Universities. What message would you like to pass on to German adult educators on the subject of European partnership?

Szczypiorski: We have a long and fine tradition in adult education, but now we need new experiences, namely those that have been denied us since 1939. We urgently need the experiences that you have gathered in the Federal Republic of Germany. Without cooperation, without intellectual support of the German partner it will be very difficult for us to continue the good prewar traditions. We are now experiencing the reincarnation of Polish continuing education, and the experiences of the German Adult Education Association, as of our other partners, are very valuable for us. We should not forget that the future depends on human intellectual development. The more education, the less occurences there will be of the type in Rostock.

Prof. Dr. Schlutz held this speech on 12th June 1991 in Danzig at a meeting with Polish adult educators. He describes the situation of adult education work in Germany after reunification and discusses the problems of the pedagogical work of the Volkshochschulen in a system of social market economy. Erhard Schlutz is Professor for General Further Education at the University of Bremen and director of the Volkshochschule of the city of Bremen.

Erhard Schlutz

The market and education

Developments and hazards in pedagogical thinking and acting in public adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany

After Eastern and Western German *Volkshochschulen* met again for the first time in the East German city of Magdeburg, on February 17 and 18, 1990, when the German Democratic Republic was still in existence, I compiled some information for my city's newspaper under the title: »Education — not just a matter for the market«. Such an article did appear in the paper, but the title read: »Coaching on market economy«. Any other purpose for a relationship between Western and Eastern German education institutions and their representatives was apparently inconceivable for the newspaper editor. The more that market economy in its strict sense seems to be taking hold in Eastern Europe, the more people seem to be forgetting, even in Western Europe, that adult education is not something that can be allowed simply to follow the dictates of the market. Accordingly, how adult education is organized and financed in the future is not just a concern for the people of Poland, but also for us in Western Germany, too.

The case against turning adult education into schooling

And yet, concern over the marketing of adult education has not been uppermost in the minds or on the agendas of adult educators since the end of the war. More important to the *Volkshochschulen*, and the people who staff them, was that adult education not come under complete government control, that it not be turned into a school. According to our historical experience, adult education did not grow by being promulgated or permitted from above. It developed in a broad movement involving people interested in learning as well as scholars and practitioners who considered adult education an important task in a democratic society. It was only gradually that it came to be recognized by the state and the public, and then gained official financial backing. Not only such historical arguments, but also political-pedagogical considerations were often brought against the idea of relegating adult education to the status of »schooling«.

Adult education and the German *Volkshochschulen* did not want:

- a state-certified reporting and qualifying system (that would require achievement control, grading and competitive selection),
- state-determined objectives and teaching plans,
- any formative tasks that might be connected therewith.

They did not want to exercise any formative influence whatever on already mature adults. What they wanted instead was an adult education

- based on voluntary motivation (independent didactic choice),
- where selection of contents and methods is decided in a joint dialogue among educators and learners on equal footing,
- and which, in its very difference from school, could help adults to offset any grief and failure encoutered during the course of their childhood school experience.

In short: adult education and the *Volkshochschulen* were supposed to reflect the principles of a democratic society, or better yet, to serve as forerunners in such a society. The market model, regulated by supply and demand, was held to offer altogether positive opportunities in that respect.

From the beginning, however, the concept of a de-schooled adult education was incongruous with growing demands in the area: demands for continuity, systemization, quality and professionality of its program, principally because it costs more to meet such demands. It would be necessary either to define adult education as a state responsibility for the welfare of the community, and as such, like school, make it subject to state funding, or to mobilize resources on the market — from participants or commercial enterprises.

Alongside the »school« model, the *Volkshochschulen* therefore had the option of becoming a type of »department store« where customers would pay a price according to the objective or subjective value of the item. However, this second, or »market« model contradicted the educational concepts of educators almost more than the first, or »school« model. As a result, even today, the work and thinking of Western German adult educators is caught up in a dilemma between the two poles of turning adult education into schooling or surrendering it to the forces of the market.

The case against surrendering adult education to market forces

This dilemma and ambivalence is noticeable in all the key notions of Western German adult education. I would like to take the word *Teilnehmerorientierung* or »participant orientation« to briefly demonstrate what I mean. It is the guiding concept for Western German adult education from which all other key concepts are more or less derived. In general terms it means: The *Volkshochschule* must serve its participants first, and not the state. In planning its programs, it is oriented around the needs of the people it addresses; it is organized in tune with the learning conditions and learning difficulties of participants. It might be understood that the catchphrase »participant orientation« refers to nothing more than customer orientation, in other words market orientation. »The customer is king«, as the saying goes. He determines what is offered and done. In a few words, I would like to sketch why »participant orientation« goes beyond that to express a concept of pedagogy in a social market economy.

1. For us, »participant orientation« means that we gear ourselves to the quality of adult education.

This is demonstrated, for example, in the way *the Volkshochschule* advises its participants. It does not have to recruit applicants for its courses, but can also dissuade potential learners if it cannot meet their specific needs. Instruction is geared entirely to the previous experience and knowledge of participants, even if doing so becomes difficult at times due to high enrollment. The teaching mode is democratic inasmuch as the authority borne by the course instructor lies only in his or her subject specialization. Otherwise, he or she considers him or herself an equal in the classroom and acts accordingly. Public adult education must subject its program to continual and self-critical examination on the reliability with which it leads to the success it promises. This applies in particular to retraining measures for the unemployed. The market offers an overabundance of such measures that fail to produce their anticipated effect of reintegrating victims of unemployment in the work force.

2. For us, »participant orientation« also means the provision of the broadest possible range of educational opportunities.

A completely market-oriented adult education would only offer courses shown by experience to be high in demand and capable of being financed by participants. Public adult education in the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, also believes in offering subjects and topics that are not high in demand at present, or »in vogue«. This policy helps to uncover learning needs and awaken learning motivation (that, for example, was how illiteracy was revealed to be a problem in the Federal Republic of Germany). Above all, however, social innovations with the help of education are only possible if learning opportunities extend beyond what the present state of consciousness of many individuals would allow. In this way, for example, we can promote ecological thinking, or possibilities for helping to shape the community, e.g. in housing construction and in the design of living space.

3. »Participant orientation« for us also means an orientation towards minority groups and »target group« work.

   Target group work in Western German adult education grew out of the sobering realization that adult education is less apt to be accessible to groups that have had less childhood schooling and education, or to persons living on the fringe of society, e.g. the elderly, manual labourers, foreigners, housewives, or rural populations. In designing special programs for such target groups, the *Volkshochschulen* seek to address sectors of the population not previously reached, and in so doing, to help make the *Volkshochschule* more democratic. The difficulties involved in such an undertaking are obvious: people with only limited educational backgrounds are seldom aware that education can mark a turning point in their lives.

The main idea behind participant orientation, therefore, is not the same as simply responding to massive demands and a market majority. Nevertheless, participant demand does lead to program adjustments in the long run. If a certain item in the course catalogue only rarely or never attracts an audience, it may be there because of an idea conceived by an educator, but it evidently does not reflect participant needs. Financing part of the program through enrollment fees can therefore also serve as an important indicator of program relevance for participants.

At this point I do not intend to enlarge upon the concept of man that underlies these objectives of public adult education. Man for us, in short, is not just »human capital« needed in the process of economic development, nor a robot to which new tools are attached by means of educational measures. In the final analysis, education is not a commodity which can be bought and consumed like a finished product. It is rather a means for people to seek and alter their position in society. In this respect, it falls within the realm of individual personal responsibility, if only for the reason that no one is impervious to the fate of society.

A difficult balance

Considering the above, what constitutes a realistic concept for financing such public continuing education in a social market economy? As typical institutions of continuing education in the realm of public responsibility, the *Volkshochschulen* basically have three sources of finance:

1. participation fees,

2. direct state subsidies,

3. so-called third party resources (which may include state funds for specific projects, e.g. for the retraining of the unemployed or to promote courses in German for foreigners, as well as contributions from commercial enterprises that »commission« specific educational programs).

If the above three sources of funding were to be graphically represented by columns, each of the three columns would vary significantly in size from *Volkshochschule* to *Volkshochschule*. Such variations mainly depend on the differences in legislation on education from state to state within the Federal Republic of Germany. In Bremen, the financial situation of the *Volkshochschule* is structured more or less as follows:

1. Participation fees constitute 25% of the total budget (although more than half of all participants do not pay the full fee because reduced rates are charged for participants with limited incomes).

2. Direct state funding accounts for 37% of the budget (the community is responsible for 3/4 of the amount and the state for 1/4).

3. Third party resources amount to 38% (mainly for retraining, but certain amounts are also allocated to the other tasks of the *Volkshochschule*).

There are other *Volkshochschulen* in the Federal Republic where the breakdown is entirely different. Many do not accept any third party funding of projects in order not to prejudice their independence in the definition of goals. In some federal states the important column of direct state funding is much higher. In others, where it is significantly lower, the percentage of income through participation fees may be substantially higher.

How does all this influence program content? The *Volkshochschule* in Bremen receives an average amount of direct state funding which allows it to employ full-time personnel, although there are not nearly enough such positions. However, funds from that source still permit the institute to remain relatively autonomous and to shield program design from outside influences. Nevertheless, Bremen's *Volkshochschule* also offers many courses that bring in significantly higher income through participation fees. Income from that source helps to finance other socially relevant programs (e.g. the campaign against illiteracy, cultural programs for foreigners). There have to be certain limits in that direction, however, so that the image the *Volkshochschule* does not become ambivalent or unclear. Otherwise, we might also soon be criticized for charging some participants the full fee, while significantly reducing the rates for many other people. Besides paying for designated projects, third party resources are also used to cover many costs of administration. They finance a number of staff positions related to general planning, and above all cover regular expense items like duplication costs and postage. The percentage of such third party resources is just low enough so that we can afford to subject each project to critical review, and use our own discretion in selecting the ones we implement. On the other hand, it is so high that our institution could not exist without third party resources.

Generally speaking, the lower the amount of direct state subsidies, the less possible it is for a *Volkshochschule* to plan its program autonomously and according to social criteria. As a rule, the more third party contributions there are, the wealthier the institution is. However, this factor can damage the institution's reputation if the programs it supports are not consistent with its goals, if they cannot be subjected to critical review according to pedagogical criteria, and above all if they tend to produce discrepancies in the institution's public image. Where third party resources come from the state, it becomes possible for the state to deprive continuing education of its relative autonomy, and to use it as a tool to achieve specific economic or social-political purposes.

If the *Volkshochschulen* in the Federal Republic today are more concerned about the marketing of adult education than about its being converted into schooling, it is because the equilibrium discussed above seems to be in jeopardy. Direct state funding tends to be diminishing or stagnating. The state is rather apt to use continuing education as a direct steering mechanism by financing specified projects or even by directly funding the continuing education programs of industry to forestall future unemployment. This situation only presents a threat to public adult education in the Federal Republic, however, because of the empty public coffers in the states and communities of what was formerly the German Democratic Republic. Like in Poland, the situation must be eased in part by resorting to private financing or public resources for retraining. However, even where public budgets are restocked, it can tend to confirm the idea that continuing education is feasible with less — or even without — public funding. What would this jeopardize?

Hazards

If the second column of direct state funding falls too low or disappears completely, continuing education for the public becomes too dependent on the market, and its social role is compromised. This is so particularly if it is financed mainly through participation fees, but it is likewise true if third party resources are largely required to pay for functions. In their own way, third party resources are normally a maket comodity, too. Retraining measures for the unemployed can also be planned by continuing education institutions, and then indirectly funded by the state. However, it generally works just the other way around: labour departments commission continuing education institutions to carry out stipulated measures with determined goals politically geared to influence the labour market. Ordinarily such projects are assigned on the principle of the least possible expense. The cost of funding can be kept low if an institute has other means available to finance a percentage of the necessary resources (e.g. classrooms and personnel). Normally, however, projects are »bought« at the expense of teacher remuneration and learning conditions. Successful completion of such programs is nevertheless no guarantee of employment. It was always difficult in the past to predict what qualifications the labour market would require in a few years time, and it can only become even more complicated to make any such predictions in the future. That means that a continuing education institute operated exclusively on third party resources will always remain subject to changing and arbitrary finance stipulations on the part of their benefactors. Such a circumstance can only serve to increasingly impair the institute's capacity to ensure minimum pedagogical quality and sufficient prospects for participants to succeed. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that much good has come from the existence of such programs: people without employment have been given new perspectives; reintegration into the workforce has been made easier for women on family leave; foreigners have received the possibility to learn German on a more intensive basis; prison inmates have been able to continue their education etc.

There is no doubt that the social purpose served by public adult education is more apt to be compromised if programs must be financed solely through participation fees. That funding principle jeopardizes all three pedagogical guidelines that we connect with the main idea behind participant orientation:

1. The more money a participant has to invest in a course, the more his interest will focus on learning rapidly and gaining the most benefit from what he learns. To a certain degree, aspirations of that sort do act as a natural incentive and challenge for educators. However, the pedagogical quality of adult education begins to suffer if participants become impatient, if they no longer allow the teacher to take more time with the weaker or slower learners, if they do not tolerate any deviation from the prescribed course even if the teacher knows it to be a more effective route to reach the learning goals. Above all, however, teachers would be forced to neglect goals aimed more at emotional development or at fostering forms of democratic behaviour and political culture among adults. Learners today expect to encounter intensive communication of that sort, along with teachers capable of initiating such a process, in adult education courses with low, or at least tolerable, fees.

2. The program schedule would be restricted to courses or functions that would bring in enough revenue to pay for themselves (at present mainly courses in foreign languages, computer sciences, or health education). Political education or other sectors dealing with public rather than individual welfare, could no longer be offered. Cultural or educational functions not having any predetermined outcome, where benefits cannot be calculated, would also find it difficult, if at all possible, to attract an audience. Often it is precisely such functions, however, that

have the innovative character needed to foster the development of an open democratic society. They include opportunities for individuals to practice problem solving in specific situations in life; for women, the elderly, the handicapped etc. to enhance their group-specific self-awareness; for people to seek orientation in an increasingly complex world. In other words: a strict application of the principle of cost efficiency and prime cost calculation would lead to the elimination of any function not marketable or saleable as a comodity either because of its high expense, its lack of market appeal, or the incalculability of its potential benefit.

3. The most obvious hazard of market orientation in a strict sense is that it caters to an economically more solvent public, neglecting socially weaker groups and minorities. If participation fees must account for the main source of financing continuing education programs, there would be hardly any chance to »calculate a margin« in favour of economically weaker citizens. In view of the fact that fees are already so high anyhow, full-paying participants would hardly be willing to bear the share of non-paying participants, too. Funding solely through participation fees would preclude the possibility of offering reduced rates to persons with limited incomes and free courses to disadvantaged target groups.

Without any social component, continuing education in a market economy must contend not only with program weaknesses and disadvantages for participants, but also with difficulties in institutional management. Even under favourable circumstances it is never easy for the staff of adult education institutes to maintain a balance between the diverse goals of profitability on the one hand and social welfare on the other. I already briefly touched upon that aspect in describing the dilemma in the concepts of marketing and turning adult education into schooling. If the marketing tendency becomes stronger, the already existing tension can lead to serious internal disharmony. It is becoming increasingly difficult to decide questions regarding the scheduling of fees according to social criteria. The differences between profitable fields and those not so easy to finance lead to competitiveness and differences of opinion among staff members. It often happens that teachers demand to be paid according to the yields that they bring for their institute, although more effort must frequently be exerted by teachers of less profitable courses.

The trend towards marketing makes it more and more difficult in particular for full-time personnel to incorporate their own ideas within the institute's program. On the other hand, they are more than ever required to ferret out the needs of potential participants and appropriately interpret their wishes. To close, I would like to demonstrate by way of an example how differently different people working at the same adult education institute perceive the changing roles of their jobs. The comments that follow stem from two full-time staff members at a *Volkshochschule* that has lately become significantly more market-oriented. What they had to say was recorded during the course of a sociological study undertaken by the University of Bremen.

The colleague who made the first statement feels that it clashes with his idea of the political and pedagogical task of continuing education to orient supply more closely around demand:

»What we are doing is outright marketing! There is a run on all that body stuff here — like Yoga or autogenic training. We're doubling our schedule in that area. The *Volkshochschule* has plunged into a market here, and although it is saturated with competition, even the *Volkshochschule* can muster enough people. And it costs them a mint. That's not my idea of education. I do try to do my part for cost efficiency, to hold as many functions and attract as many participants as possible in order to stock the till. But I don't identify with what is going on in my area.«

The second commentary shows that not all educators consider the trend to be negative, and that for some, the idea of responding more closely to demand definitely offers the positive chances mentioned at the outset. The opinion was given by an educator who, after having worked at a political education center, went on to study art, and is now employed at a *Volkshochschule*:

»When you come to a *Volkshochschule* like this one, you discover that it's just like a department store. You open up the catalogue and are confronted by a hodgepodge! I had to ask myself how I could ever find a frame of reference. And then it suddenly became clear to me that there is a tremendous opportunity for the people who come to this department store. When they choose an educational product — take drawing, for example, the subject I teach — they don't have to subject themselves to our attempts to inform them about the world situation. They say to themselves: You can go there and enjoy drawing. I want to learn something. I want to do something good for me. And if you ask them as an educator why they are doing it: »Oh, to do something worthwhile.« There are more and more people seeking the enjoyment of working at something worthwhile. And those are changes that we never contemplated before. They are just happening.«

This Federation was founded on 7 April 1990 in Sofia. We are publishing here a brief outline of the Federation by Chavdar Palaveev, the project manager.
For further information please write to: National Coordination Council, 1000 Sofia, 2 Graf Ignatiev Str., Tel.: 00359 - 2802 191; Fax: 00359 - 2878 387.

Chavdar Palaveev

Bulgaria: Federation of Societies for the Spreading of Knowledge

We want to meet the challenge of our time!

Our Federation of Societies for the Spreading of Knowledge was founded on 7 April 1990 (at a National Conference) in Sofia.

- The Federation is a voluntary association of societies for the spreading of knowledge in all spheres of science, economy, culture and social practice.

- The Federation is an independent, non-government organisation which unites societies nationwide.

- The Federation's objective is to advance educational and professional qualifications and raise the cultural level of the people.

- The Federation structure and activity are based on the principles of voluntary participation and equality of over 30 society members of the Federation.

- The Federation carries out its activity with the help of the intellectual potential of the nation, the leading specialists in various fields of knowledge and social life.

- The Federation is a member of the International Council for Education of Adults based in Toronto, Canada and of the International League of Education and Popular Culture, seated in Paris. It has contractual and fruitful cooperation with the Union of German Popular Universities, the French League of Education of Adults, the Austrian Popular Universities, the Association of Finnish Organisations of Adult Education, among others. Through this socially useful activity the federation contributes to the building up of a common European home.

- The Society for the spreading of knowledge is the basic unit of the Federation. It is established on territorial or professional principles.

- The Society organizes on its own or through its partners various forms of mass dissemination of knowledge and training of adults and other activities of an applied nature.

The Federation societies offer at socially reasonable prices:

- Consulting specialists for development of programmes and projects related to technological innovations, market economy, privatization, financial policies, banking, the agrarian reform, etc.;

- seminars, courses and schools for professional qualification;

- foreign language courses using the latest European systems;

- training courses for business secretaries, typing and computer skills;

- students' and methodological books, video and audio recordings for language training in English, German and French;

- own facilities for publishing and printing books, brochures, advertisements, etc.;

An Organization and Methods Centre has been set up by the Federation which provides programmes and curricula, highly qualified teachers and lecturers for educational and qualification courses organized by the societies or other organisations, companies or institutions. There is a school for West-European languages at the Centre.

The Federation has a National Centre for Training and Higher Business Schools in the country. They organize one-year and two-year courses for secondary and higher qualifications in management and marketing and intensive training of company managers.

The Federation assists in the development of correct strategy and tactics, and professional conduct in the transition period to a market economy and democratic society.

For several years now one has recognised, in Hungary too, the growing importance of the Volkshochschulen in adult education, particularly in preserving the interests of national and ethnic minorities. The example of the »Gypsy Folk High Schools« shows what the Volkshochschulen actually contribute in this area. The following paper was prepared for the International Colloquium on Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation May 24 - 30, 1992 in Moscow. Sz. Tóth János is Secretary General of the Hungarian Folk High School Society. Dr. Harangi Lászlo is one of the founding members of the movement and staff member of Kulturinnov.

Harangi Lászlo / Sz. Tóth János

Gypsy Folk High Schools in Hungary

A few features of the folk high school movement in Hungary

After pursuing a policy of objections and harrassment since the beginning of the eighties, it took several years for the party state bureaucracy and the cultural government to realize that the folk high schools, together with the other spontaneous organizations, are able to fill the gap that has existed in communal education for several decades. By 1988 - 89, as a result, the folk high school movement was more and more widely recognized as a potential continuation of the spontaneous civic activities, much the same as more than four decades before.

In Hungary today, folk high schools play an important role in reviving the local communities, strengthening the new, democratic self-governments and, last but not least, representing the interests of national and ethnic minorities, preserving and developing their identities and cultures. In this context the folk high schools — similar to the folk high schools in Scandinavia — also take their share in managing the problems of economically backward regions and help people to solve their own individual problems, such as unemployment, solitude, unhappy family circumstances.

According to the objectives and requirements at the different localities, the following types of folk high schools have been established in Hungary:

- general, cultural folk high schools;
- self-governmental folk high schools;
- communal, minority and public life folk high schools;
- enterpreneurial folk high schools;
- social folk high schools for the unemployed.

There are short-term (lasting a week or fortnight) residential folk high school courses, weekend courses, and evening or full-time day intensive courses. Each folk high school course, as a rule, must comprise at least ten regular meetings. Due to the poor economic situation of Hungary, it is only recently that the process of establishing independent folk high school institutions with buildings of their own has got under way. Still, since they are initiated and maintained by civic organizations, associations established especially for this purpose and local self-governments, folk high schools are set up on a social basis, which has long been a tradition of the movement. That is how, in the process of continuous development, local and regional folk high school associations and unions, regional centres, provincial funds and organizations established for setting up residential folk high schools have come into being. The folk high school movement in Hungary, which is independent of the political parties, is co-ordinated by the Hungarian Folk High School Society on a self-governmental, federal basis.

Objectives of the Gypsy folk high schools

The Gypsy population estimated at 500,000 - 700,000 people represents the largest ethnic group in Hungary, where there are also Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Romanians, Jews and other, smaller nationalities. Cumulatively handicapped, the Gypsy ethnic group faces the gravest problems of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and minorities, including the religious communities of the free churches and the socially or physically handicapped as well. The »Gypsy issue« in Hungary involves demographic, labour, educational, health, housing, adult education, cultural, psychological, behaviour and ethnographic aspects, none of which can be solved but for the co-operation, patience and consideration of »both parties«. The new, democratically elected government is aware of this situation. By the way, in the past decades, too, a lot of measures were taken by the part state system to advance the lot of the Gypsies, though the Gypsy issue was regarded primarily as a social problem and thus, efforts were aimed at assimilating and integrating the Gypsy population. In the past two years the introduction of the market economy has led to a further worsening of the situation of the Gypsies (the rate of unemployment among Gypsies, for example, exceeds many times that of the whole population), which is another obstacle in realizing a Gypsy policy based on the self-organization of the Gypsies and also respecting democratic and minority rights. It was in this economic, social and educational situation and background that the first Gypsy folk high schools were established as early as 1990. Since then, year by year, more and more folk high schools have been established exclusively for the Gypsies.

The primary goal of the Gypsy folk high schools is to train leaders, that is, professional and informal community development animators, organizers and leaders from among the members of the Gypsy communities who can work in an effective and authentic way both »inwards« and »outwards« in their communities and in public life, respectively. When planning and organizing a folk high school, one of the starting points was: most Gypsy communities lack trained, respectful personalities who can carry out essential social, cultural and community work without losing contact with their fellow-people. On the other hand, it is essential both for the Gypsies and local society to have trained Gypsy leaders who, in their own field, can expertly stand for the job they have been put in charge of and can represent the interests of the Gypsies, which means they are in possession of all the communication and behaviour arsenal necessary for this job.

Another primary goal of the folk high schools, in addition to training leaders, is strengthening the self-confidence and identity of the Gypsy population. Many organizers of the Gypsy folk high school came to realize that this ethnic group is a solitary community, very often forsaking even itself, vegetating for years now, so that immediate actions should be taken in order to revive them, and that folk high schools can act as effective instruments for this purpose. An important target is, thus, that the folk high schools (without aiming at completeness) should help Gypsies to strengthen their status, to be aware what it means to be a Gypsy, and not to conceal their difference of kind and regard themselves as enemies but to accept this difference with a feeling of being equal and to utilize it for the sake of their community and society alike. All these require, in several contexts, self-knowledge and a thorough knowledge of history.

On the whole it can be said that, since the very beginning, the resurgent Hungarian folk high school movement has attached great importance to participating in the state, self-governmental and social projects aimed at raising up the Gypsy population in the spirit of pluralism and democracy.

Course curriculum

Since the Gypsy issue is a very complicated complex of scientific, social and political problems, the target set for the folk high school courses is approached in different ways in the curricula. The involvement of the participants themselves or their representative bodies in organising the curricula and ensuring up-to-dateness and usefulness even in the case of apparently recondite topics, were important basic principles.

In compliance with the recommendations of the Council of Europe, in almost each curriculum there was an outline of the origin and past of the Gypsies, which is an indispensable element of the self--knowledge and self-system of the minorities. As is well-known, this population group, originating from India, left India between the fifth and the tenth centuries A.D. and arrived in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, where they were treated in different ways. 80,000 East-European and Central-European Gypsies were killed in the Nazi extermination camps. Apart from a few settlement measures introduced by Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph the Second in the second half of the 18th century, the Gypsies could lead a peaceful, undisturbed way of life, which bears witness to the peaceful co-existence and the existing traditions of toleration.

Another pillar of strengthening the ethnic identity at our courses was promoting the Gypsy culture and bringing it to the participants' consciousness. For this aim several lectures, demonstration lessons and drills were held on Gypsy dances and tales, which form an important part of both the Hungarian and universal culture. All these gave another impetus to keeping up the traditions and training non-professional leaders.

Introducing topics and lessons on reviving and demonstrating some ancient Gypsy occupations, such as nail blacksmithing, basket-weaving, making adobe, carving wash tubs etc., was a further step in the process of keeping up the traditions. By mastering these professions once again, new workplaces can be created which not only restore job satisfaction but also yield some profit, especially in the tourism-sector.

So that the different Gypsy communities could leave their closed conditions and get a broad and authentic view of the differentiated and sometimes even contradictory situation of the Hungarian Gypsy population, a separate set of lectures, consultations and talks was dedicated to the situation of Gypsies in Hungary today; it included the following topics: the financial and social position of the Gypsy population; different layers of the Gypsy population; social, educational and health relations; problems of Gypsy unemployment, etc.

The courses, however, in the form of lectures and consultations, focussed on the knowledge necessary for everyday life, for solving different social and livelihood problems, such as the legal, pedagogical and psychological aspects of family care, family allowances, child and youth welfare, unemployment, prevention of crime and after-care, flat and house-building, raising loans, etc. These meetings were characterized by a great degree of responsiveness to the problems, of empathy and by an utmost willingness to render help. The meetings thus dealt with the knowledge necessary for »managing« our everyday life, which can help us to avoid failures, and which can frequently act as a life-saving device.

The future Gypsy leaders and animators were also provided with practical legal, sociological and politological knowledge which must inevitably be acquired and, then, applied in community development activities and in public life. In this context the following lectures, discussions and drills were delivered: information network at the county level; keeping contacts with the local self-governments, its legal frames; local forms of self-organization (societies, associations, enterprises, cultural and educational initiatives and movements, etc). Each step in preparing the participants for self-government and self-organization at the local, village or housing estate level, had to be applied in practice, too, because it is these forums where the Gypsies' most burning problems come to the fore and must be solved.

The methods aiming at developing the communicative ability of the Gypsy leaders and improving the efficiency of their public addresses represented the other major topic of training new leaders. In this context the participants were taught how to prepare a speech, what makes an effective speech and style. They also learnt about the most frequent written forms occurring in the course of representation of interests (e.g. request, application, curriculum vitae), and took part in speechwork drills in small groups.

Last but not least, a great part of the curricula of the folk high school courses was devoted, with the purpose of changing several century-old customs and traditions, to delivering knowledge, demonstrations and drills in connection with a healthy way of life and everyday culture, such as developing proper hygienic habits, healthy food, bases of family planning, child in the family, clean and tidy environment, looking after and protecting the home.

Organization, teachers, financial resources

So far all the folk high schools have been established by county culture centres, gypsy organizations (e.g. »Lungo Drom« National

Union of Gypsies for Safeguarding of Gypsy Interests, or a local branch of the Independent Union of Gypsies) and local folk high school societies. For example, the »Folk High School Society on the river Ipoly« was initiated by local teachers and youth. Most of the members of the society are Gypsies under 25. This society, too, was established with the purpose of arranging folk high school courses where the majority of the participants will be Gypsy. As the gypsy organizations are growing stronger and stronger, it is now up to the closely co-operating culture centres (owned today mostly by the local self-governments) and gypsy organizations to plan and establish a folk high school, where the expertize is provided by the institutions of adult education whilst the social character of the joint projects (representing interests, enrolling new members, animation etc.) is ensured by the gypsy organizations.

On every occasion the topics are defined after consultation with social workers, teachers, sociologists, adult educators, ethnographers, labour experts, lawyers and health experts interested in the Gypsy issue. Nevertheless, the interests expressed by the gypsy organizations and the requirements and wishes coming from below have priority over the other aspects and approaches. In the case of a repeat course the new curriculum is based on the previous one, acquiring, however, a more and more practical character. »A mere friendly and cosy atmosphere is far from satisfactory. What the participants want is more help and information for their everyday activities.« This must be up-dated in the new curriculum.

The successive weekend courses, eventually supplemented by a two-week summer residential course, can be considered to be the most frequent organizational form of the Gypsy folk high schools. »It is only at the weekend that every participant can attend the course as these are the days when they are absent from work for the shortest time possible. The fifteen participants arrived from different settlements, from Miskolc, Tiszakarád, Taktaszada, Emód, etc.« (The folk high schools designedly take aim at the Gypsy society's main body, many of whom are still working.)

The Gypsy folk high schools, just like all other folk high schools in Hungary, do not have a staff of permanent teachers, they employ tutors and lecturers from professional institutes and social organizations. In compliance with the goals and curriculums of the folk high schools the lecturers, tutors and practice masters of the courses represent a great number of professions, such as adult educator (most of them), sociologists, social politicians, family care centre-workers, lawyers, labour experts, social workers, writers, artists, journalists, physicians, self-government clerks, psychologists, ethnographers, housing experts, police officers (on crime prevention and after-care), teachers, priests and many more. They are all united in their responsibility for the Gypsies and in their readiness to help them.

One weekend in October 1991 the Borsod County Pedagogical and Public Education Institute, in co-operation with the Pharilipe Independent Gypsy Organization, organized for the second time a three-day Gypsy folk high school, which — regarding its course, organizational frames and methods — can be considered a typical Gypsy folk high school in Hungary. Since the proportion of the Gypsy population in the county and even in its seat, Miskolc, exceeds the average rate in Hungary, in 1990 the County Public Education Methodological Centre initiated the establishment of a folk high school for the Gypsy youth. The aim of this residential course, arranged now for the second time, is to educate the Gypsy population by applying more intensive methods of adult education, taking into consideration the time spent in each other's company as well.

The lecture on Friday morning, »Do I accept my Gypsyhood?«, which was delivered by the leader of the City Family Care Centre, dealt — through real examples — with the essential, sometimes contradictory, issue of whether one should accept or refuse his or her Gypsy community. During the whole afternoon that followed, the participants spoke in groups about their own experience, gave their own opinion — partly agreeing with what had been said and partly adding new information to it. As the final point of the first day agenda, the participants saw an Othello performance at the county theatre, which had a very special feature: the participants saw the Gypsy actor act on stage who, earlier that afternoon, had been chatting with them as a consultation partner. On Saturday social, legal, allowance and family care issues were discussed by the participation of experts giving an outstanding performance. Here again the stimulating effect of the group activity and the possibilities of individual counselling were applied. The introduction to the bases of correct speech and teaching and practicing the basic written forms and formula (request, curriculum vitae, etc.) was a very important and much anticipated lesson. On Sunday, the third day of the course, with the topic »What to do next?« an abundancy of ideas came up regarding the future courses of the folk high school, which will be of great help to the organizers when defining the curriculum for the next course.

With respect to the difficult financial circumstances of the participants, the course at the Gypsy folk high school is free of charge and so is the accommodation and full-board. Even the travel expenses of the participants are refunded by the organizers. All the expenses are covered by competition, from different funds, self-governments and other sponsors.

Summary

Compared with the Gypsy population of more than half a million people, the several dozen Gypsy folk high schools, arranged year by year, cannot be said to have any social significance yet. Nevertheless, the first experience is quite promising since both the opinions of the former participants, the responses of the lecturers and the summary reports of the course leaders reveal that even amidst the present, modest framework, the folk high schools can become in the future prominent adult education institutes for training Gypsy leaders and thus worth developing and supporting. Their success can be ensured by the rather free atmosphere, communal activity and spontaneous activity characterizing the folk high schools, which are in line with the attitude, activity and initiative the Gypsies produce, or on the contrary, lack.

A particularly valuable feature of the Gypsy folk high schools is that, if compared with school education and other institutes of adult education and vocational training, the folk high schools can realize maximal partnership with the Gypsy organizations and can pay considerable attention to every circumstance which affects their living conditions, future outlook and opportunities. The common experience of living in each other's company, even if only for a few days or weeks, helps people to get to know each other better, to solve conflicts, curtail prejudices and teaches both sides basic and mutual toleration.

As far as the future is concerned, the ethnic (Gypsy, German, Slovakian etc.) folk high schools depend on the future of the folk high school movement in Hungary as a whole. By maintaining pluralism and by its sensitiveness to social issues the movement will never cease feeling responsible for the rights and requirements of the ethnic groups and minorities.

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In his article, Leonid L. Fituni shows that there are analogies between countries which stem from the former Soviet Union and Third World societies as regards the increasing impoverishment of their population, foreign debts, ethnic, regional and confessional conflicts etc.

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Leonid L. Fituni

Will Russia be the third world's biggest economy?

What would Germany's fate be, were She situated in Africa? The Third World environment would probably drastically affect the nation's development. The prospect to become the West's last frontier on the outskirts of the Third World is however, not absolutely unreal. The Poor World's limits are steadily expanding, and in a matter of a decade they may absorb an additional 17 - 20 percent of the global territory. The bad news is that this expansion is taking place next door to German borders, viz. in the newly emerged independent states of Europe. Typically Third World problems have spilled over to the European continent: poverty, regional conflicts, refugees, environmental degradation, foreign debt crisis, social unrest and insecurity. Will Oder and Neisse become a new »Atlantikwall« for Germany? How serious are the fears of alleged thirdworldization of the former Soviet Union?

The following article is not intended to open a new page in development theory. Our aim is rather to expose real dangers for both Russians and West Europeans that stem from rapid development degradation of the former Soviet Union and impoverishment of its nearly 300 million population. International media stubbornly understate the threats, emphasizing ideological aspects of collapse of communism and current problems in implementation of reforms. A smaller proportion of analysts acknowledge the existence of those threats, but reduce their influence to separate areas of economic, political and social life, unwilling to recognize their systemic character. This unwillingness is quite explicable. Would they accept the fact of a former superpower turning into a Third World country, the glory of victory over communism may well be undermined.

The Third World embraces about 150 extremely different countries, starting with big economies like India and Brazil (or China) and finishing with some small, remote, scarcely populated island states of the Pacific. What unites them all in the eyes of the world community is their predominantly backward state, inherent development problems and extremely low standard of living of a large part of their population. In some respects the Soviet Union fell into the category of developing nations all through the years of its existence (primarily in terms of the standard of living, but also structurally).

To-day the resemblance is even more pronounced. The ex-Soviet economy and society are unprecedentedly close to what one finds in more developed countries of the Third World. A dichotomy based on income levels, the poor versus the rich countries, defined by the World Bank, unambiguously puts post-Soviet geographic formations (republics) into the ranks of wealthier poor countries (middle annual income according to the World Bank terminology, approximately $ 3,000 - 4,000 per capita).

On the other hand, Russia and some ex-Soviet republics are obviously industrialized countries. However, the type of industrial development, based mainly on primary commodities production (oil and gas extraction, mining etc.), their place in world trade and international division of labor (i.e. suppliers of raw materials to Western developed economies) also make them similar to other Third World countries.

Their joint share in the world GNP is diminishing. One cannot see any signs of improvement of the situation. The per capita national income has fallen by 40%. The crisis has affected practically all sectors of the economy. The most important economic proportions have been deformed, there has been a sharp decline in investment activity and in agricultural production. The monetary system is on the brink of collapse and the situation on the consumption market is critical.

There has been mass idleness of enterprises and of whole sectors for lack of materials (including imported ones), numerous instances of failed contract deliveries and bans imposed by local authorities on taking particular products outside the region.

The structure of the Russian economy is becoming more and more similar to that of major Third World countries (India, Brazil, or Argentina). The share of manufacturing in the GDP is decreasing. The manufacturing sector itself is composed mainly of old industries and outdated imported machinery. The export of raw materials is the main currency earner.

Ironically, the present Russian commodity structure of exports fully copies that of USSR's former poor Third World ally, Angola. In 1992 about 80 per cent of foreign currency exports earning were provided by fuel commodities sector (oil and gas) and about seven addtional per cent by diamonds exports. The only difference is that Angola's third major export commodity is coffee, and that of Russia arms and ammunition. Here Russia looks more like Brazil.

The standard of living of average ex-Soviets is now very close to that of the least developed nations. Because of aslump in production and the depressed exchange rate of the Ruble, the average annual monetary income of an employed person in Russia is equal to 250 US dollars. Social problems like poverty, critically low standards of health care and education as well as astonishing inequality in income add to the gruesome picture of **»thirdworldisation«** of the ex-Soviet economy.

The countries that appeared after the USSR had collapsed, are no longer big brothers to developing nations. They are their rivals, competing for Western aid, food and investment. In future they can either fight each other, or block together with the other Third World countries, trying to act in a unified front.

Foreign debt

Rapid impoverishment has turned Russia into one of the World's biggest debtors. Its liabilities towards foreign creditors exceed 85 billion Rubles. As in Mexico and Argentina in the early 1980s, the enormous debt problem goes hand in hand with an unprecedented outflow of resources. Though in order to prevent the downfall of prowestern regime, the West agrees to postpone the repayment of the capital debt, debt service payments are not affected by these concessions. But even paying the interest constitutes an enormous drain of Russian monetary resources. During 1990 - 1991 the former USSR had to pay 42 bn dollars as interest. This sum is bigger than the whole pre-perestroyka debt of the Soviet Union.

Another way of capital outflow is the illegal flight of capital from Russia, which has cost the country the equivalent of about half the $10 to $12 billion in international aid it received in the first half of this year, according to monetary sources.

They say that over $5 billion leaked overseas as Russian companies stashed export earnings in foreign bank accounts rather than bringing the money home and investing it in Russia. »Ten to twelve billion dollars came in and we don't know where it is«, one source in the Ministry of Finance, who declined to be identified, said.

The size of the capital flight raises new questions about how much foreign help Russia actually needs in reshaping its economy into the capitalist mould. Russian officials are well aware of the problem, and some privately admit that it could complicate the country's bid for debt relief from its foreign creditors.

Moscow is pleading poverty in its negotiations with its creditors, saying that it does not have the money to service the debt and asking for a formal rescheduling. But some bankers are sceptical.

Horst Schulmann, managing director of the Institute of International Finance, a bank lobbying group, said this summer that with appropriate policies in place, Russia should be able to service »the entire foreign debt of the former Soviet Union« in 1992.

Russian central bankers said that they wanted to try to plug the illegal leaks of capital abroad by requiring that Russian exporters sell all foreign currency earnings to the state unless they needed cash to buy goods abroad.

»Enterprises did everything they could to hide some of their foreign currency earnings from the state«, a Russian Central Bank official, Vyacheslav Solovyov, said.

»This has done a lot of damage to our economy.«

The International Monetary Fund is hoping that the tough economic policies it is prescribing for Russia will attract capital back into the country by increasing confidence in the country's ability to pursue painful reforms.

Impoverished Russia and the outside world

As a newborn third world state Russia tends to overestimate the attractiveness of its market to the West, thinking that the Western capital is all but waiting for an opportunity to rush to the new market. Western and Russian media often refer to a big reserve of skilled manpower, a feature favorably differentiating Russia from the rest of the Third World. The quality of the personnel in ex-communist countries is quite different from that in the West. The really supreme elite is rather narrow, they easily find work abroad and many of them (if not the majority) leave the country for better places, heftier salaries and higher standards of living. The second-best group is left behind without its intellectual and professional leadership and is doomed to deteriorate losing much of their skills in a new Third World country with limited resources.

The largest »medium skills« group cannot use its comparative advantage because it functioned best in another type of economy (centrally planned one) with another set of material and moral stimuli and incentives. They cannot immediately accept new values and new production relations. For decades they have been »good socialist workers« trained to produce highest results in a collectivist economic environment. They need extensive retraining facilities and this means both resources and effort.

As to excessive work force of lower quality, it is more expensive than the one of approximately the same quality in the Third World. In both cases it is not a driving force, but the breaks for development.

Having turned into a new Third World country Russia plunged into the struggle for foreign investment. However, the world supply of free capital does not exceed $140 bn, while the demand is $190 bn. It is the suppliers market and investors carefully choose where to apply their resources purely out of their own interests. Russian and other ex-communist states turned into the main Third World competitors.

Ethnic, regional and confessional conflicts

Though economic parallels between Russia and the Third World may seem to be only too obvious, one should not disregard political, social and ideological similarities.

One of them is the high degree of importance of national and ethnic factors, immaturity of state and political structures, which makes people seek support among their kin and blood.

Ethnic tensions and demands have caused bloody regional wars mainly in poorer Southern areas of the former USSR. Islamic fundamentalism found fertile soil for itself in some areas with predominantly Muslim population. The influence of Turkey and Iran is rapidly increasing there. Post-communist societies experience rapid transformation, traditional social structures and behavioral models engender acute conflicts of interests between various social strata. This type of social contradiction is uncharacteristic of developed countries.

Authorities and corruption

Another typically Third World feature is the low level of responsibility among the authorities. While in Western democracies the authorities are responsible and accountable vis-a-vis the people and in a repressive totalitarian regime vis-a-vis its own internal power, in a new Third World society they are totally independent of any control or restraints.

In no developed country will the government be able to democratically cancel the elections on the grounds that its opponent will inevitably win them. This is exactly what President Yeltsin did in December 1991. Nor it is possible for a President to threaten to dissolve an elected Parliament (having no such rights according to the Constitution) on the grounds it is not progressive enough and does not approve of the Government's economic line.

Inexistence of an institutional basis for both democracy and economic reform is a major trait of many underdeveloped societies. The democratic Russia's problems are basically the same as those of new independent states of the early post colonial era: desperate search for new national identity, lack of financial and intellectual resources, painful reshaping of the relations with the First World and economic reforms. But hand in hand with the above mentioned problems there are overstated expectations, belief that the outside world will only be happy to accept the newcomers into its realm.

Corruption and nepotism are wide spread and socially accepted. Every one knows that no real decisions are taken without »cash lubrication«. According to Russian businessmen, the level of average bribery has risen about 1000 percent since the failed 1991 August coup.

It is not entirely clear how the foreign assistance that Russia received in the first half of this year had been used. The uncertainty has arisen partly because the Russian government's books have been so jumbled that even Moscow doesn't seem sure where some of the money went. Much of the money was used to buy supplies of food, medicine and other essential imports, resold later by commercial structures for sky-rocket prices. But a full account of where the assistance went does not seem to be available.

Important changes have occurred in common people's minds and social attitudes. Under the Soviets the official propaganda tried to impose on a citizen the notion of his exclusiveness and special destination as a champion of a new more progressive social system, constantly reminding him that he had to be proud of his country — the first socialist state in the world. Though such was frequently unjustified, it objectively created a positive attitude towards life, making ordinary citizen's life positions active.

Today an average Russian is no longer ashamed to beg either for aid from the First World (with the whole of his state), from foreign capitalists' visiting their country or from individuals in the streets.

Social disparities

One of the characteristic features of a Third World nation is crying social disparities in a society polarization of wealth and poverty, accompanied by practical inexistence (or inadequate development) of the middle class. To some extent this thesis is implicitly acknowledged by the leading international financial institutions. Russians inevitably will see a wider gap between rich and poor as they merge from communism and a safety net should be spread to keep people from dropping below the poverty line, says a study carried out for the World Bank. »A widening earnings and income distribution... is an inherent part of the reform«, the study said. »Among the results of the change are increased unemployment and poverty.«

The study was done by Nicholas Barr, a professor at the London School of Economics and a World Bank consultant. Lawrence Summers, the bank's chief economist, has calculated that the average Russian will earn only about $4 this year for every $5 he or she earned in 1991. A smaller drop is expected next year.

Wilfried Thalwitz, the bank's vice president for Europe, predicted last October that Russian production and income levels will not return to their 1988 levels until the end of this decade.

The study suggested that the Russian government try to cut poverty through measures such as paying limited unemployment benefits rather than continuing to pay employees at factories that lack work for them to do. It also recommended family allowances that pay a fixed monthly amount for each child, limitations on early retirement and a requirement that employers, rather than the government, be responsible for a first period of sick pay.

Russian citizens' cash incomes grew five to six times over the first seven months of 1992. However, an increase in cash incomes only compensated half of the total price growth. Food prices over the first half of 1992 skyrocketed 15 to 20 times.

There has been a decrease in demand for public services across the board. Nursery fees have shot up 12 to 14 times with health resort charges increasing 13 times. Transport fares rose five to six times. There was an average 14 to 15 fold increase in wholesale prices.

Thus, the liberalization of prices has delivered a crashing blow to the population's living standards. The gap between the population's real incomes and the overall price increase has put half of Russia's citizens close to the official poverty line. The officially estimated minimum wages in July amounted to R 2,150. Since then, they have increased dramatically. Besides, the monthly incomes of seven million Russian citizens (4.5% of the population) did not exceed R 900. About one million workmen were laid off by enterprises, offices and organizations in the first half of 1992. As of July 1, a total of 779,900 jobless were registered by employment agencies, including 202,900 people with unemployment status.

At the same time the labor force of private businesses, joint-stock companies, associations and lease-hold companies has been growing.

Only ten to twelve per cent of the Russian citizens earned over R 45,000 per month, wages of 12 to 14% of Russians fluctuated between R 20,000 and R 45,000 and the real incomes of 12 to 15% of the Russian population ranged between R 8,000 and R 20,000.

Therefore, the price liberalization has divided the population into four groups according to their real incomes. The first group with average monthly wages ranging between R 3,500 and R 10,000 makes up 35% of Russia's labor force. The group comprises engineers, doctors, scientists and public services personnel.

The second group's average monthly wages do not exceed R 3,500 which is lower than the official minimum monthly income. This group makes up 35 to 37% of Russia's workforce and includes Russia's intellectuals, workers, farmers, people of art and scientists.

The third group includes those with a monthly income starting from R 10,000 up to 45,000 (18 - 20% of the Russian workforce) employed by various joint-stock companies, associations and private firms. A small number of scientists and people of art also belongs to this category.

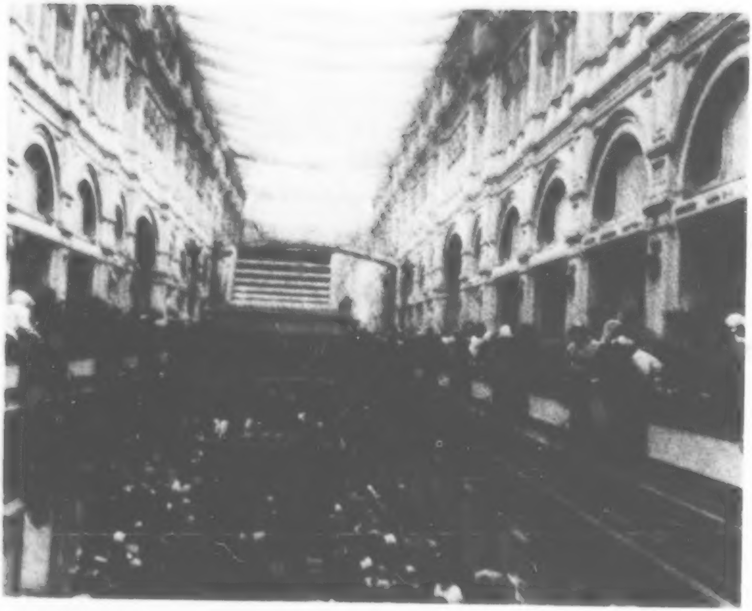
The fourth group whose monthly wages start from R 45,000 upwards embraces 13 to 15% of the Russian workforce. The group also includes 2.3 to 2.7% of people who make R 100,000 per month or more. The fourth group consists of respresentatives of all kinds of professions who were able to rearrange their activities along the new economy's lines. Illegal profit-makers also belong here.

Conclusions

The direct analogies between the post-Soviet and a Third World society seem to be too obvious. Even at first sight one can find a whole number of similar quantitative indicators in economic and social development. Of course a lot of features differentiate Russia from a typical Third World country. But then the term Third World itself unites such different countries as Argentine and Equatorial Guinea.

What differentiates Russia from the majority of Third World countries is not its unique political experience, but cultural and human potential as well as the major influence in international affairs. Both of these factors mainly belong to the past now. The demographic and cultural aspects of Russia's development are at its lowest ever since World War II or even since the civil war that followed the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The country's population is physically decreasing. As to the standard of culture, without traditional generous support from the state, it deteriorated sharply with shrinking free education, unattractiveness of low paid teachers' profession, closing public libraries etc.

Russia's turning into the Third World's biggest nation, though alleviating old cold war fears of the West will at the same time manifest a major defeat of Western civilization and democracy. It will bring about very little apart from a brief period of sadistic satisfaction. Russia's degradation will not mean greater security for the West, while the failure to improve economic standards at home will be used by communists as an argument that a market economy performs socialist economic models.



GUM, Moscow

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We all still have to get used to the new situation after the disintegration of the socialist bloc. The world certainly has changed, but we cannot as yet fathom the extent of the implications of this change. International cooparation in the field of adult education is also confronted with new challenges and uncertain answers.

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Michael Samlowski

Does the South ends in the East?

How far is it possible to transfer experiences gained in the course of adult education work in developing countries to cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe?

Any attempt to deal with this topic must begin with customary reservation. The question is a difficult one, certainly with no clear-cut answer. It poses problems even when confined specifically to developing countries. Very often we wonder how far experiences from one typical »developing« country are at all applicable in another. Conditions and focuses are anything but homogeneous. Language, cultural, ethnic, political, and economic factors vary; rural and urban target groups have different needs; and the differences are actually greater than the similarities. Often enough it is not even possible within a single country to transfer experiences from one region to another. Different demands correspond to different conditions in Jakarta and Borneo, Iganga and Kampala, Patagonia and Buenos Aires.

Nevertheless, an attempt will be made here to define typical instruments of development cooperation as they are employed in projects where the German Adult Education Association (DVV) collaborates in fostering continuing education in developing countries, and then to examine their suitability for application in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

What activities do we support in our various projects in adult education here and there, and what are the conditions that surround our work?

Asia, Africa and Latin America

In Africa, Asia and Latin America, adult education is mainly designed and employed as an agent to improve living conditions and promote community development. This accent has led to the so-called integrated approach to adult education in which the educational component is complemented by measures in the fields of health, housing, and community organization in an effort to create employment opportunities, develop credit schemes, organize work and production groups, to build community kindergartens, stores and restaurants, and to foster a variety of other activities as their need arises during the course of the work. In this sense adult education in Asia, Africa and Latin America is frequently employment-oriented. Its main task, considering the scarcity of job opportunities in the formal sector, is to qualify people for the informal sector.

Adult education is very often an initial qualifying process, whether in a general context (school completion, or literacy programs), or occupational (basic training in sectors like garment making, knitting, weaving, carpentry, electro-technical services, shoe repair, metal working, cookery, vegetable farming, raising small livestock, agricultural techniques etc.).

Adult education helps people to manage the immediate details of their lives, providing knowledge and skills directly applicable in the home or on their land.

Adult education relates to the realities of life within a close radius around the people concerned (their village communities or urban neighbourhoods), an environment characterized as a rule by disparity, injustice, social extremes, tyranny at the hands of the wealthy or landed, political licence and inefficient administrative structures. Such settings have spawned an approach to adult education marked by social dedication, consciousness-raising, and organization. Adult education of this nature also takes on a political hue by defending the claim for basic rights. Precisely this aspect is one of the key elements of the so-called »popular education«, »education populaire« or »educación popular«.

This type of adult education is wanted and needed by the majority of the population. Nonetheless, public learning opportunities are more than inadequate, and there are not enough private NGO initiatives anywhere to provide widespread ongoing coverage instead of just model »micro projects«. Therefore, adult education also needs lobby work to make decision-makers aware of its importance, and at the same time to link and reinforce its providers.

A partner organization from the »North« like DVV cannot, to begin with, offer any models for the aforementioned tasks of adult education. We are often asked, as an organ of the German *Volkshochschul* Association, whether we set up *Volkshochschulen* in countries like Uruguay or Tansania. But any undertaking of that nature is bound to fail. The conditions and organizations are too dissimilar. A German model would be at odds with the needs and demands existing there. We cannot transplant the experiences we gain from our work in Germany. The incompatibility of the approaches, the cultural gaps, the diverse value systems, the mutual head-shaking at the otherness of the other, all this is familiar to anyone even slightly acquainted with development policy.

We have acquired our professional experience gradually in day-to-day collaboration with our Asian, African and Latin American colleagues. It has been to our advantage in this connection that we have been able to accompany and appraise developments in many countries on an ongoing basis, and then to incorporate them in our practical work. This and the access we have to the results of scientific research prepare us for our contribution in arrangements of cooperation.

Over the long years of working together with our partners, we have learned the importance of sensitivity. We realize that it is not our work that we are doing. It is our partners' work, and our contribution is merely one of support. We are continually learning anew the meaning of participatory action. We can share experiences, suggest ideas, pool our thoughts, and work on solutions together, but we cannot force decisions. Our job is to respect our counterparts, whether public or private, to acknowledge their responsibility and to reinforce the work of their people.

The following are some of the instruments we use in cooperation for development:

- collaboration in developing concepts for adult education programs;
- initial and advanced training of grassroots, intermediate and higher level adult educators within the framework of seminars or long-term training courses;
- development, production, distribution and application of printed and audio-visual teaching and learning materials;
- financing and organization of training opportunities;
- strengthening institutional and material infrastructures of our counterparts;
- providing material aid to furnish and equip institutions, print shops, work shops etc.;
- fostering reflection, evaluation and experience exchanges;
- offering work-specific consulting services in the Federal Republic of Germany, at international encounters and above all within the partner country;
- networking of adult education organizations at local, national and regional levels;
- fostering contact between government and non-government providers of adult education;
- at times, but not always, assigning field representatives and establishing consulting offices, in most cases in an independent capacity, to collaborate with several counterparts where possible from both the public and private sectors.

Central and Eastern Europe

Having initiated cooperation with partners in Central and Eastern Europe less than two years ago, we are still treading new ground. Although even during the Eastern bloc era DVV never severed its ties to adult educators in that part of the world, such contact was basically restricted to occasional professional exchanges, mainly in the context of delegations rather than on the practical level. In that area we have yet to acquire the long years of practical experience that lends us relative confidence in cooperation with partners from developing countries.

Moreover, at the risk of repeating what everyone seems to be saying, the instability of the situations in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe cannot be stressed often enough. Conditions there are still in transition. The countries are in the midst of rebuilding and restructuring, and that applies equally to every aspect of life, from the economic sphere to the political scene, and most certainly to the education and further education sectors.

Parallels to developing countries

There are astonishing similarities between the situations in developing countries and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. To name a few:

Relative poverty of the population, as evidenced by all relevant indicators such as low per capita income, demeaning living conditions, lack of adequate access to commodities that meet basic needs and at the same time are affordable, or insufficient health services. The deficits already existing under socialist rule in state-run medical care systems are becoming even more evident now in what is left of them. Alternative medical services have not yet been developed, or are only affordable by an exclusive circle of private patients.

Inability of national labour markets to absorb their own populations or to adequately meet the consumer needs of their citizens. The rate at which unemployment is rising in all Central and Eastern European countries is alarming. The victims of unemployment, at the same time, are people who have developed a paternalistic mentality in regard to the provision of all types of commodities and services, and who therefore are totally unprepared for such a development. There is a simultaneously high demand for western products so that it is becoming increasingly difficult in those countries to find home markets for products produced by national industry and even national agriculture.

The spreading social insecurity as notoriously evidenced in crime, prostitution, and drug abuse. In certain sectors of the population, the youth group in particular, instability is accompanied by a deterioration in values that mould behaviour and provide orientation as well as stability.

Political instability. None of the former communist bloc countries of Central and Eastern Europe have yet produced stable political structures. There is a relatively rapid succession of governments, a proliferation of political parties, and considerable shifting in political alliances. Populism as a political strategy is not an effective foundation for security in times of crisis, when it is quick to become apparent that governments cannot hold to their promises. This is the dilemma presently facing Yeltsin. It is typically symptomatic of the present epoch, for example, that the last election in Lithuania was won by the former Communist Party, that people in Russia are experiencing first pangs of nostalgia towards their recent past, and that Romania and Bulgaria are seeing a continual turnover in power structures. Governments are forced to come up with fast evidence of success. Long-term effective social commitments that fail to show immediate results have to take a back seat. This explains why investments in education, particularly further education, are by no means a priority for many Central and Eastern European governments.

Unbalanced development. Some enclaves of the economy were quick to attract Western capital (e.g. the hotel trade, the automotive industry, the consumer goods sector, specifically data processing and electronic entertainment equipment), while others, particularly heavy industry, capital goods, ship building, and the chemical industry, are disintegrating or, like agriculture, are practically on a subsistence level.

High rates of foreign indebtedness, together with inconvertible currencies, the consequence being the continued necessity to export goods, frequently beneath cost, in order to obtain the hard currency required to import urgently needed economic goods as well as for international debt service. Consequently, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe suffer from world market dependency and negative terms of trade just like the developing countries.

Disregard for the ecological integrity of the environment is a further parallel. During the socialist era, nature was exploited to the point of abuse. Since the transition, other concerns have taken priority over environmental protection. Just as in developing countries, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe respect for the environment at prèsent is considered to be an inaffordable luxury.

Instability of governmental structures. The most horrifying example is the civil war going on in Yugoslavia, but other threatening military situations exist as well. Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Moldova, the potential for conflict in Latvia and Estonia with their large percentage of Russian inhabitants, the conflicts menacing minorities such as the Hungarians in Romania, or the separation, albeit peaceable, of the Czech and the Slovak Republics, are all indications of unstable territorial structures.

Characteristic of such situations are the large numbers of refugees and emigrants who in many cases flee their own countries in search of better economic conditions, greater respect for their cultural identity, or simply to ensure their own physical survival.

Differences between Central and Eastern Europe and developing countries

Notwithstanding the similarities pointed out above, circumstances in Central and Eastern Europe differ significantly and unmistakably from those in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Below are some of the more relevant contrasts:

Independent history. Apart from certain exceptions within the empire of czarist Russia which later became the Soviet Union, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were not colonies despite all the dominance by certain major powers. Therefore, they were never as subject to foreign influence as the actual developing countries. Neither were their economic structures so one-sidedly oriented to the needs of a colonial power, with the exception perhaps of a few of the Soviet Republics which had to satisfy certain needs of the Soviet empire, as was the case with Uzbekistan and cotton, or Azerbaijan and oil.

Other cultural conditions. With only slight degrees of variation, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were basically included within the cultural ambit of Europe. Accordingly, they also developed essentially comparable educational systems for their citizens. Those systems were available to the greater masses. Indeed, precisely during socialist era, the broadest sections of the population had access to education up to the highest levels.

Moreover, science and research were highly advanced. Accordingly, the present situation is not one where most of the people have not enjoyed a basic education, or only to an insufficient degree, as is the case in actual developing countries. On the other hand, in the light of current demands, the education or training they received is often inappropriate and obsolete.

The economies and infrastructures are in general more highly developed, irrespective of their condition or potential for deterioration. Railway networks exist, albeit without intercity express routes to support superfast trains, or computer systems to regulate train traffic. Slums and shantytowns with their ramshackle huts are atypical, although, according to standards in industrial countries, living conditions might be considered crowded, the quality of buildings appalling, the gray housing blocks along the city's edge sterile, and water and electricity supplies inadequate.

Shock encounter with the West. The open and ideologically unfiltered contact with the industrial nations of the West, their values and standards of consumption, already familiar to developing countries, is new to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. Although East did compete with West, it managed to protect its members from the penetration of western influences. Now, unprepared as they are, the people are being inundated with consumer needs, and confronted with the potential freedom to indulge in what they can afford, but also by individualism and an elbow mentality.

A fundamental difference is **the regressive development** taking place in the Central and Eastern European countries of the former Eastern bloc. In vital sectors the rebuilding process initially involves tearing down. The universally aspired transition to market economy first requires doing away with planned economy. Today's unemployed — or tomorrow's at the latest — all had a job and a purpose, no matter how fitting the terms »make-work« and »inefficiency« might have been from a market economy angle. Former times did not know the lack of orientation in a society subject to reconstruction and the pressure to help determine its direction.

Despite all the privileges enjoyed by the *Nomenklatura* during the socialist period, there were not the social gaps that are now beginning to appear — disparity that indicates a **disintegration into classes**. The »two-thirds society«, a more or less obvious phenomenon in industrial societies of the Western world, is now also part of reality in the former Eastern bloc, albeit in reverse proportion with two-thirds of the populace failing to maintain themselves above the poverty level.

Many of the situations described above as being parallel to those in developing countries have evolved since the collapse of socialism. Perhaps it is only the inherent underdevelopment that is now starting to show. Many people are becoming aware of a pervading and often perplexing **process of underdevelopment** that is confronting them before they are able to develop their own strategies to cope with and survive under the new circumstances. They do not have the generations of experience in dealing with underdevelopment that the people in developing countries do.

The role of adult education in Central and Eastern Europe

Adult education takes its definition from that context. To be more specific, in Central and Eastern Europe, too, the demand centers on educational opportunities that can help individuals to better manage their lives, particularly insofar as earning a living is concerned. It clearly focuses on the formal economic structures in apparent trust that the market economy and private initiative will create the conditions under which everyone can find his share if only he acquires the necessary knowledge and skills. Key subjects include:

- **foreign languages**, particularly courses in English and German as Western European foreign languages, which attract individuals who, for the most part, hope to acquire the qualifications needed to obtain positions in Western European-oriented sectors of the economy;

- **computer technology and operation**, an area sought after by persons desiring to learn the skills of the new technology introduced by employers to adapt their businesses to international standards;

- **market economy and marketing**, intended, as a rule, as part of the training for business secretaries crucial to a successful adjustment of economic structures to world market conditions, and to the realization of the respective »economic miracles« that will allow post socialist countries to catch up with the West;

- **advanced occupational training and retraining**, for which the necessary structural requirements, however, are largely lacking. To date no retraining centers exist — neither in the private nor public sector — that can provide individuals with new skills to meet the demands of modern industry or even with the techniques of a new craft or trade. As a consequence, retraining is virtually restricted to the business dimension in the broadest sense.

There are, moreover, some elements of cultural education as well as lecture programs that still exist as carry-overs of the former traditional educational structure.

Adult education has the resolve and obligation to participate in the sheer enormous task of rebuilding societal structures, but is in the difficult position of not disposing over the necessary structural conditions. Whether they go by the name TIT, TWP, Socialist Academy or *Snanie*, the hitherto state and party-run lecture societies for the dissemination of knowledge, all well-endowed and sure of an audience, have lost their state support and are all experiencing a rapid contraction process with no guarantee of survival. Moreover, they are all under social pressure to renew their staffs and adopt a modern image in order to purge themselves of any ideological stigma and persevere in the face of ever-increasing commercial competition. The opinion is prevalent in the various ministries of education that the educational system, too, can be left to market forces and does not need any special state regimentation and support. For the dwindling public resources that must now be collected by taxation instead of being siphoned off of collective assets there are numerous priorities that take precedence over the funding of continuing education programs, and this applies all the more where the distribution of local budgets is concerned.

Adult education must hence raise its own resources, and this is only possible by charging enrollment fees to meet costs, a procedure that renders learning opportunities inaffordable for the poorest and neediest adults. Accordingly, adult education is liable to contribute to separating society into privileged and underprivileged classes. Subsidized programs that, due to the broad spectrum of international support, constitute the rule rather than the exception in developing countries, are still rare in the post-socialist part of the world.

What is more, new laws must be created to regulate the educational structures. It is specifically in the area of continuing education that no legal framework as yet exists in most of the Central and Eastern European countries of the former Eastern bloc. There are cases where the traditional adult education organizations still have buildings at their disposal or have been offered the use of the former »Houses of Culture« by the communes, but at times that apparent advantage proves to be a Greek gift considering the condition of the buildings and the high cost of their upkeep for which funds first have to be organized.

International cooperation with adult education programs in Central and Eastern Europe

These circumstances make it clear why adult education organizations are striving to seek international support. The goals of their search are Common Market budgets for support, special funds like the Foundation for German-Polish Cooperation, but also bilateral assistance from organization to organization, and ministry to ministry. Still unsure of their own criteria, and not yet on a concrete course, they are receptive to what they can find. It is the supply that determines the demand, not the other way around. They are interested in the Skandanavian Residential Folk High School, the Open University, the management training programs of chambers of industry and commerce or a language program corresponding to the model common at the German *Volkshochschule*, depending on which opportunity presents itself first. On the other side of the fence, Western providers find themselves competing among one another over new cooperation markets.

We accordingly shoulder a special responsibility in moulding the cooperation with Central and Eastern European partners. In contrast to the nature of assistance sought by our partners in developing countries, we are often approached by partners from the East with solicitations for transfer of our Western experiences and practice. Nevertheless, we must withstand the temptation to transplant our models. We can help to acquaint our partners with the various options, and examine whether it would be appropriate to introduce them in their countries. This involves inviting colleagues from the East for a first-hand look at our experience in practice, and giving them an overview of the conditions leading to its development. We can let up on time pressure and create moving space for our partners to reflect on the options. We should then respect what they decide, regardless of how, and help them implement their decisions. That includes not only solidarity and advisory support, but also financial and material aid.

In the process we must help them to pursue the important tasks of adult education that transcend the vocational context of basic and advanced training: providing chances for people to learn how to determine and influence their social identity within society, to develop not just the ability to earn a living but also other aspects of their lives, and to take an active part in community affairs.

The **instruments** we employ are not very different from those we use in arrangements of cooperation with our partners from developing countries.

- We help in the concept design of curricula. In this respect the experience from our own country offers more points of comparison and relevance than in cooperation with partners from developing countries.

- We collaborate in advanced specialization and didactic training of adult educators.

- Making appropriate teaching materials available, or adapting and producing them, are also important components of our cooperation. As in developing countries, the materials must be tuned to the people and in harmony with their culture. Simple transfer is not enough.

- Similarly, we provide financial support to institutions and programs.

- We also channel aid into furnishings and equipment for our partners' infrastructural facilities. In this connection, just as in developing countries, we are not able to provide widespread coverage, but concentrate rather on the development of prototypes for adult education activities. Appropriateness of the goals and replicability must be borne in mind.

- We facilitate professional consultations and exchanges for technical personnel in Germany, but also promote cross-organizational networking among Central and Eastern European partners.

  Here, too, successful exchanges between Western and Eastern institutions are easier to implement than in cooperation with developing countries. At present we are experiencing the special dynamics of partnerships between individual *Volkshochschulen* and comparable institutes in our partner countries.

- We assign specialized personnel to work on a continual basis together with our partners in certain countries. Our partners are particularly interested in this type of arrangement, and precisely at the political level it improves the status of adult education.

Sensibility is certainly no less important in dealing with our partners in Central and Eastern Europe than it is in cooperation with our Asian, African and Latin American counterparts. They still have to learn what it is to be dependent on external support. To discover that their working conditions are inferior is a new experience for them — and not entirely a painless one. They seek help, but at the same time they are keenly sensitive if it is offered ostentatiously. Help must never lead to dependence and must never derive from a sense of qualitative superiority and the power that can be exercized from above over people in an inferior situation. Neither should it be permitted to lead to the arrogant error that inputs only have to flow in one direction. Cooperation as a one-way street would be blind to all the opportunities for learning about and profiting from the thoughts, organization, alternative planning or improvised action, from the values and feelings of the other side. It would hinder mutual understanding and would very soon be rightly refused.

Perspectives: The new relevance of informal solutions

To close, I would like to venture a look into the future: Our partners in Central and Eastern European countries of the former Eastern bloc would still decisively and justly deny being caught up in the same web of problems affecting the countries of Asia, Africa or Latin America. It is indeed true that phenomena such as lack of primary education, illiteracy, malnutrition or serious epidemics are not central issues. There is widespread hope that an initial phase of appropriate support from the West will strengthen the post-communist economies and boost their competitive ability so as to render them equals in the international arena.

But that may soon prove to be an illusion. If so, the accents of adult education would have to change. Should the societies of Central and Eastern Europe develop unequally and possibly leave large sectors of the population marginalized, an informal sector would necessarily evolve as a means for survival. Local economic circuits would develop requiring entirely different skills that would call for their own mechanisms of teaching and learning. Adult education would then tend to become more like »popular education« as it exists in contemporary developing countries. It would assume its political function, perform tasks of organization, support the fight for basic rights, protect people against arbitrary action and injustice, and defend the weaker members of society. In short, there would be a reversion to the historical roots of adult education and its original purpose. The future may witness more convergence than there is today between Central and Eastern Europe and contemporary developing countries in the contents and methods of adult education, and the former group may as yet be able to learn more from the latter. The borders still existing between »South« and »East« may grow to be more and more obscure.

Parallels between countries of the former Eastern bloc and developing countries

- low gross national product
- high external debt
- inconvertable currencies
- negative terms of trade
- inability of the economies to compete internationally
- low per-capita income
- high rates of relative poverty
- limited access to basic goods and services
- high rates of unemployment, both official and hidden
- social insecurity, crime and a decline of moral values
- environmental destruction
- political instability
- government instability

Differences between countries of the former Eastern bloc and developing countries

- different histories
- no colonial past
- minimal external economic determination
- same European cultural sphere
- advanced educational system with universal access
- higher levels of general economic and infrastructural development

- higher levels of vocational or professional training
- new confrontation with the West
- very recent regressive development
- unemployment as a new phenomenon
- emerging tendency towards class society
- underdevelopment as a new experience

Characteristics of adult education in developing countries

- compensation for lacking formal education
- initial access to primary education (literacy and primary school completion programs)
- context relevance
- oriented around basic needs
- formal, but also informal character
- democratic-emancipatory character
- geared to social transformation
- improvement of living conditions for target group
- employment oriented
- promotion of work or production groups
- oriented around village or neighbourhood communities
- integrated approach
- in principle available to all, but handicapped through personnel shortage and infrastructural insufficiencies
- inadequate preparation of teaching staff
- insufficient state support
- weak conceptual continuity
- compensatory effect through work of numerous NGOs
- external support

Characteristics of adult education in Central and Eastern Europe

- adaptation of existing educational means to new demands
- basic and advanced vocational training
- formal character
- higher school and academic qualifications from the start
- strong accent on foreign language learning and training in modern business techniques
- aims at economic transformation, and replacement of planned conomy with market economy
- subject-specific instead of integrated learning
- maintenance of traditional elements of cultural education
- decrease in state support and responsibility
- cost-covering fees and therefore not universally available
- increasing numbers of privately-run commercial institutes rather than non-profit NGOs

Instruments of cooperation in the area of adult education in developing countries

- collaboration in development of concepts for adult education programs
- basic and advanced training of adult educators at all levels in training courses of short duration or long-term comprehensive programs
- development, production, distribution and application of printed and audio-visual teaching and learning aids
- fostering reflection, evaluation and experience exchange
- fortification of institutional and material infrastructure of partner organizations
- professional consultations in the Federal Republic of Germany, at international assemblies, but primarily in the respective partner countries

- networking of adult education organizations on local, national and regional levels
- bringing together government and non-government providers of adult education
- establishing project offices, and assigning specialized field personnel

Instruments of cooperation in the area of adult education in former Eastern bloc countries

- collaboration in development of concepts for adult education programs
- basic and advanced training of adult educators at all levels in training courses of short duration, professional contacts or institutional visits
- facilitating and adapting printed and audio-visual teaching and learning aids
- fostering reflection, evaluation and experience exchange
- fortification of institutional and material infrastructure of partner organizations
- professional consultations in the Federal Republic of Germany, at international assemblies, but primarily in the respective partner countries
- networking of adult education organizations on local, national and regional levels
- promoting partnerships between adult education institutes in the Federal Republic of Germany and in partner countries
- establishing project offices, and assigning specialized field personnel.

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Preparing the Future — Women. Literacy and Development.
The impact of female literacy on human development and the participation of literate women in change.
This brochure is ActionAid's fourth Development Report in a series looking at aid and development issues.
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Africulture. A simulation game on gender
»Africulture« is a simulation game that makes players experience the way in which »gender« in the domestic domain and in the wider economy shapes outcomes in African Agriculture. It is an accessible and attractive training tool that confronts players with the choices faced day by day within farm households. »Africulture« has been designed for students, trainers and professionals engaged in agricultural extension and farming systems research, population planning, development planning and economic development. The game can easily be adopted to suit the learning purposes of participants.
More information can be obtained from:
ETC, Consultants for Development Programmes, P.O. Box 64, 3830 AB Leusden, The Netherlands.
In the United Kingdom, please contact:
IIED, International Institute for Environment and Development, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H ODD, United Kingdom.

18 women participated in this workshop. They discussed new ways for adult education giving particular attention to women's problems.

Nasira Habib is a staff member of the Khoj Research and Publication Centre in Lahore, Pakistan.

Nasira Habib

Training the trainers

Eighteen women adult education teachers representing various NGOs involved in development work in different parts of the country were brought together for 6 days by the Khoy Research and Publication Centre. The main objective of the workshop was to introduce adult education teachers from different NGOs to a new participatory, need-based, issue-oriented and sound-based methodology. Other objectives were:

- to facilitate a sharing of ideas and experiences among teachers from different NGOs and to provide an opportunity to get to know each other's work,

- to discuss the problems they are confronted with,

- to evaluate critically the present efforts of making people literate and to prepare an effective approach for future work, and

- to create solidarity and sisterhood among participants.

Though the workshop was supposed to acquaint participants with a new methodology of adult education, the whole programme was designed in such a way that also made it possible to bring in gender issues with the view that unless awareness is built on broader social issues no real change can be experienced. Additionally, as the methodology itself is need-based and issue-oriented, it makes a legitimate demand that equal importance be given to deliberation on the situation of people (women in case of the workshop under discussion) and lives of the participants in particular. Thus discussion and deliberation on the lives of Pakistani women became an important objective of the workshop.

The setting and the participants

The six-day workshop was held in an educational centre called Dar-ul-Kalam. The building is situated in an area of Lahore known for its serene and quiet environment which facilitated an atmosphere necessary for becoming oneself, for deliberating in a very personal but »detached« manner; what we are and what we are doing. And the fact that it was a residential workshop inspired the openness and intensive interaction so necessary for a workshop of this kind.

The participants represented Caritas, Family Planning Association of Pakistan, Health Education through Adult Literacy Project, Light Home Foundation, Aurat Muawin Aurat, Presentation Convent, Bhatta Mazdoor Mahaz, Fatima Hospital Literacy Project, St. Tresa High School, Murree Abad School, Oxfam Pakistan Field Office and Khoj Research and Publication Centre.

The attempt was made to bring together a somewhat homogeneous group so that a meaningful dialogue could take place. As adult education teachers normally have a similar socio-economic background as the pupils, with a slight upward mobility, there were no great differences among the participants in terms of economic status, social background, education etc. Most of the participants were in their twenties or thirties which gives cause for hope that they will be able to work with vigour, energy, commitment and dedication for a long time.

The workshop starts

The first session of the workshop began with self-introductions and a sharing of personal histories. The broader questions revolved around

- the family background of the participants,
- how she felt as a woman in the family,
- what opportunities were available to her to actualize her potential,
- how she received her education and what were the hindrances, if any,

- how she was introduced to the rather unconventional sector of adult education and why she was interested in her work,

- what methodology is being used by her, if she is satisfied with it and if not, for what reasons.

The philosophy behind this is to break the mournful discipline of training programmes, to prepare grounds for real expression of creativity in participants. They should not be reduced to mere recipients of ready-made recipes. An informal and personal environment becomes more imperative if it is a gathering of field workers who tend to be overawed by the trainers and the serene and sombre environment. As the actual literacy classes are very informal and personalized the training workshop must try to create similar setting. If they are brought into an artificial environment it creates confusion, lack of linkage between the actual work and the training and sometimes it produces negative results. As one of the participants, who had earlier attended a training programme set in a five star hotel, aptly put it, »there were mirrors everywhere and I was so puzzled«.

Sitting on the floor of the hall the participants were quite tense, anticipating to hear lectures and sermons. In order to break the ice and to create a sense of belonging and warmth, one of the resource persons started with her own personal history. It also set an example for and facilitated this rather unusual and unconventional exercise. It is generally experienced that the participants are very shy and hesitate to disclose anything about themselves but when a sense of trust has been established it is sometimes difficult to stop participants outpouring themselves. This very fact indicates the cathartic value of such exercises that leads to long-standing trust and solidarity among the participants. This exploring of each other took up the morning and post-lunch sessions. The exercise became instrumental in breaking taboos and bringing women closer to each other. Despite the very long working days they wanted to sit together afterwards. The participants were often found chatting, exchanging their personal stories, scribbling verses about fellow participants and the workshop until 3.00 in the morning. It was no longer a detached, impersonal »how do you do?« and disappearing into some corner.

New methodology gets introduced

In order to make the usefulness and effectiveness of the methodology clear and to sharply highlight the difference between the old and the new, the session began with a demonstration lesson of the old method of teaching. Then the participants were invited to give their comments. The following comments were offered:

- teacher did not pay attention to the pupils,
- she did not respond to their questions, instead, they were snubbed and she went on giving the ready-made lesson,
- she did not try to satisfy the pupils,
- teacher was too harsh,
- she wanted rote learning from the pupils.

A demonstration of the new methodology then followed. A real class atmosphere was created and the participants were treated as pupils but they were not pre-informed of this tactical procedure. The salient features of how the class progressed are as follows:

- A poster addressing the issue of poverty was shown to the group posing the simple question of what they could see in the picture. Though the discussion initiated from a picture, the issue soon was linked to the lives of the group members. The idea behind presenting a picture is that as these codes are always related to the lives and problems of the participants of the class it automatically evokes reaction from them and very soon they start talking about themselves. Here the teacher plays a very crucial and constructive role. She leads the discussion to prevent it going off on a tangent while remaining discreetly in the background. As the purpose is to enhance their understanding of issues and to guide them to feasible solutions of the problems, she intervenes time and again but not as the one who dictates and »teaches« but it is a two-way learning process. She helps them to articulate their thoughts and the issues under discussion are dealt with in-depth. As a result of such deliberations the group starts seeing things in a different light.

- The teacher remains very alert and attentive during the discussion and keeps in mind the words most frequently used. Then one word is selected to be taught. Here again the idea is to teach those words which are used frequently, that is, the word which the group needs to learn and is interested in. Learning is thus also very quick. The word-to-be-taught is decided with the group.

- Then the key word is written on the blackboard so that the group has a visual impression of how it is written.

- Afterwards the sounds contained in the word are dealt with. It is shown on the blackboard how the first sound in that particular word is written. Pupils are asked to copy it and each individual pupil is personally taught how to write. To facilitate the process further a flash card containing the written form of that particular sound is shown to the group members individually. All sounds of the word are taught to them in this way.

- Once all the sounds contained in the word have been learnt by the group, they are provided with flash cards containing those

sounds and it is demonstrated how new words can be made by merely changing the sequence of the sounds. It becomes a creative exercise that gives real pleasure and a sense of achievement to the learners. Learning only 5 - 6 sounds, they are in a position to make at least 10 - 12 new words and once they have learnt how to write all sounds of the language they become capable of writing every word in the language without committing mistakes, regardless of how difficult the word is.

As soon as the demonstration of the new methodology was over, the comments of the old and the new were well taken, but in order to make it clearer a summary of the different stages of the methodology and the philosophy behind the whole thing were discussed in a step by step manner.

Given the enormous volume of survival problems, »illiterates« coming from low income areas cannot afford the luxury of devoting 2 - 3 hours daily to becoming literate, just because »it is good to be literate, and because one can become a better human being« etc. As this crucial factor was not taken into consideration by most of the adult education campaigns, they were doomed to failure. Thus no effort can be successful unless

- pupils are treated as adults not as children
- their personal lives, problems and needs are taken into consideration
- they are led to solution finding as collectives.

It was made clear that in the actual classes it would take days to teach the initial words. Also the principes of group formation and the role of teachers as facilitators were discussed and analysed in great detail.

Each session was followed by an informal evaluation that

- helped the resource persons to plan and design the remaining programme in a more useful way,
- helped the participants to views of their own on different issues.

These evaluations gave them self-confidence and the feeling that their suggestions, comments and criticism were equally important and worthwhile.

Now the stage was set to invite the participants to come before the group one by one to demonstrate what they had learnt. This became a real test of the group leader's ability to control the group and to work in unfavourable conditions as the other participants relapsed into their childhood days of not taking the teacher seriously if she made some obvious mistake or strange gesture. Sometimes the group became really unruly. As a result some »teachers« became annoyed with this behaviour and refused to continue. Here the resource persons had to intervene. Later, the most vehement critic was brought before the group. Thus, by »acting« herself she learnt that to criticize is far easier than teaching oneself. This exercise became a learning experience in itself on how to work with groups of adult women.

A day on gender issues

As the methodology under discussion also aims at awareness building on various issues emanating from life and as the workshop was for woman teachers, it was deemed useful to have a day devoted exclusively to gender issues. As the ground had already been prepared in the previous three days, the session started with the definition and exposition of the terms »gender« and »gender issues«. The participants were not passive recipients. Actually the same issues had been discussed right from the beginning of the workshop. The difference now was that the same things were put together in a systematic manner. Women felt that they already knew everything — this knowledge was demystified.

The brief introduction to gender issues was followed by a number of short, interesting, lively and sometimes game-like exercises that provoked participants into thinking about issues in a way they had never done so before: things which were simply considered daily routine. The exercise tried to create awareness on

- the importance of their contribution in housework
- the possibility of having equal status with men
- how women neglect themselves in daily life
- what could be an equitable and just division of labour.

They obtained the opportunity to think about their own identity. The stereotypical role models were brought home to them and also the fact that women themselves have internalized these images as their own as a result of centuries of socialisation.

One exercise made women account for the way they spent their time daily. It was alarming for them to establish that in their daily routine there was no time for themselves. And they had never thought about it.

The next session focussed on how to teach numeracy using the new participatory methodology; how real life objects can be used to make the learning process practical, interesting and make the retention more lasting. Currency notes, soft drink pipes and caps, pictures cut out from magazines and newspapers were used to calculate, add, subtract, divide and multiply. The concept of zero was explained and expounded in a way that was a revelation to most of the participants. The demonstration tried to provide ample practice opportunity for each participant, as learning by doing is proved to be the most effective.

Traditional ways of learning curb creativity in learners but the new methodology aims at bringing out and actualizing the creative potential in them. In this way learning can be more effective. That is why normally the discussion on a particular issue is initiated through the showing of a picture to the group; the same however can be achieved by role playing on that particular theme as well. In order to provoke critical and creative faculties the group is invited to draw pictures, write stories, songs etc. The results of such exercises are always very encouraging. As a matter of fact, these »illiterate« women are generally found to be far more creative than formally educated people. Thus instead of suppressing, efforts should be made to nurture their creative faculty further.

The discussions were interspersed with songs, posters and audiovisual presentations. Every session began with inspiring women's solidarity songs or meditative relaxing exercises. A film on adult education was shown at the end of the session daily. The film consisted of 24 episodes that discuss various aspects of the activity, the types of problems that crop up, how to handle them, how teachers have to be very sensitive and analytic of the issues, specifications of the place, people involved etc. all the time and how to work smoothly with offending people around. The films proved to be extremely inspiring and motivating. The participants always wanted to see more episodes than the original plan allowed for. It was moving to see them ready to discuss the content of the film and to relate it to their work even after a long day's work. They found answers to some of their questions they thought would remain unsolved. Thus the exposure to new ideas, experiences and approaches was found to be very helpful. To facilitate the process a bit further, a few books and booklets were distributed among the participants.

On the final day of the workshop one of the participants was requested to work with the group initiating discussion on the problems they faced during their stay in Dar-ul-Kalam, using the new participatory methodology. The group should be led to offer possible solutions and to plan a strategy to overcome the problems. The problems could be the shortage of water or unwillingness of the boy on the premises to offer food to women. Because of the shortage of time and the transporter's strike next day the necessary time could not be given to this supposedly interesting exercise.

The final session saw women evaluating the whole programme. The remarks were generally positive with recommendations as follows:

- More time should be given to such workshops. At least two more days should be given to a programme of this nature.

- A follow-up workshop must be organized, as most of the participants showed great enthusiasm and interest in trying out the new methodology (given that the respective organizations can be persuaded).

It is encouraging to know that the HEAL project Lahore, Oxfam participants from Quetta and PASBAN participants from Lahore have already started classes using the methodology introduced in the workshop.

Khoj showed its unconditional readiness to cooperate with the participants wherever and whenever its services can be of any use.

One major finding

The workshops are organized to introduce a new methodology with the supposition that the participating teachers already know the language — Urdu in our case. But given the deteriorating standards of education it is discovered that the majority of teachers themselves do not have the necessary understanding of the language. A number of important questions are raised which they fail to answer. They just try to impose themselves on the learners. As a result, some sessions invariably turn out to be discussions on various aspects of the Urdu language because the new methodology does not allow teachers to cheat them. Thus it is recommended to design a course on the Urdu language with a focus on adult education.

This article takes up the gender discussion begun in volume 39 and describes a project in the Philippines on the subject. The article is a reprint from the journal »Pakikiisa. The Philippine Development NGO Updates«, Nr. 11, 3rd and 4th quarters, 1992.

Rachel V. Polestico

Systematizing gender-based interventions: the Mindanao experience

Discussions on gender issues have often evoked emotional responses from both genders. However, it cannot be denied that gender oppression is as stark a reality as the existence of men and women in this earth. The realization that the solution to the »battle of the sexes« is not the continued domination of men over women but the equitable relationship of both as the foundation of a just society does not come easily. It is something that must be learned, and often not without some degree of pain.

Development work has addressed inequities in our societies, whether it is the disparity between the rich and the poor, the landless and the landed, the uplanders and the lowlanders, the blacks and the whites, the environment and people's greed. Historically, social development workers have sided with the underdogs. Thus in the fight for gender equality, it is not surprising that the sentiments of development workers are with the women.

Decades of feminist struggle have achieved two significant things: the advancement of the cause of women and the creation of an atmosphere of antagonism between men and women. For the most part, the feminist struggle is perceived as anti-male. The truth is the inequity issue between men and women is a development issue. Genuine development must include all sectors of society. The issue of gender inequity should thus be tackled vigorously alongside other social and development concerns.

The process requires facilitating at both the personal and communal levels an awareness of gender oppression, and taking action to change the situation. One must be able to identify such oppressive situations as the double burden, undervaluing and non-monetization of work, violence against women, marginalization, stereotyping, sexualization, and dehumanization of women, and delve into the root causes of this situation. Interventions in the form of programs must foster equal opportunity, genuine empowerment, shared home responsibilities, the positive portrayal of women in media and society, the creation of support services for the special needs of women, equal pay for equal work, etc. These are features not only of gender-sensitive development but also of a just society.

Most Philippine development workers follow the process as described in the box on the following page. This process gives

Steps in systematizing gender-based interventions

In the micro-level this translates to a series of steps that cover the following:

1. Gender consciousness/sensitivity sessions to enhance and encourage their awareness of the reality of gender oppression and to enable them to feel the injustice that is implicit in this condition;
2. Gender analysis brings about a systematic comprehension of the degrees in which women and men share both productive work and housework, their access to and control of resources, and the reasons for such conditions;
3. Gender-based planning specifies the conditions that must be changed based on baseline data (based on the results of gender analysis). This enables us to target ideal or desired conditions and to design programs that can bring about that desired change;
4. Gender-based implementation ensures that women are involved in project and partner identification, in planning, in resource accessing, and in the sharing of benefits and learnings.
5. Monitoring and evaluation ensure that the program is proceeding as planned and that the objectives are being achieved.
6. Regular reflection sessions, continually raise gender awareness and consciousness. By reflecting on all the activities or events that happen in the community, women are able to estimate whether these steps are bringing the women closer to the vision of a just society — where there is gender equity and real empowerment of women.

premium to partner participation, the action-reflection learning process, the infusion of development skills such as participatory action research planning and project implementation. What makes it gender sensitive is that it takes into consideration the general condition of women, looks at the specific condition of women in the community, and promotes solutions that would advance gender equity and the empowerment of women.

An illustration from the Mindanao program for women

In order to design a program for women in Mindanao, the Thematic Committee for Women in PHILDHRRA Mindanao conducted a Gender-based Framework for Project Programming last March 1992. This was a project supported by DIWATA as a follow-up to a previous consultation held on Gender-Based Framework formulations. This was attended by the Executive Directors of the PHILDHRRA membership in Mindanao.

Gender awareness. This consultation started with several sessions of gender awareness. This was topped by a full-length play »Daw Bi« staged by the members of a Development Communication class of Xavier University at Cagayan de Oro City.

The play had two scenes: the first scene recreated the traditional roles of women as prisoners of the home, heartbroken by philandering husbands, and having a low-esteem. In the second scene, the men got pregnant, had to stay home, lived with their shrinking egos as society ostracized them, and went through the difficulties of pregnancy. Even if this was only a play, it paved the understanding that men and women will be able to understand each other if they share, not stereotype, roles. In addition, it brought home the message that in fact women, because of the demands that society makes on them, deserve more than just gender equity.

Gender analysis. In order to have a realistic data of the conditions of the women PHILDHRRA members work with, the Gender analysis accomplished questionnaire from the Livelihood Revolving Fund for Women (LRFW) in Mindanao was used. This questionnaire basically asked about the profile of the women, the number of hours both husbands and wives devote to work at home and at the workplace, the access and control profile, and the analysis of the situation.

The data showed that a typical woman partner would be 39 years of age, with five children (three daughters and two sons) and earning an income of Pesos 748.00 per month. The total family income would be Pesos 1,327.00, well below the poverty line. The women would have many employable skills such as clerical skills, the ability to cook and bake, process food, do handicrafts, farm, trade products, and others.

On the average the wife works for a total of 9.6 hours for housechores but the husband only contributes 6.5 hours for household chores. In terms of paid work, the women spend two hours earning their wage while the husband spends 1.7 hours per day for paid work. For community services the wives devote an average of five hours while the husbands give an average of nine hours a day. In terms of decision making, the wives mostly decide on such matters as the household budget and disbursements, discipline and education of children, and family planning.

The PHILDHRRA Mindanao members came to the conclusion that the reasons for this situation are:

a. *personal* — that women prefer to stay at home because they do not have skills for outside work;

b. *economic* — that women are driven to work because of economic difficulties but unfortunately their work at home is not given economic value;

c. *socio-cultural* — that there still is a belief that women should stay at home, that men are the breadwinners, and that matters of the home and children have to be decided on by the women; and,

d. *political* — that the men still basically control society even if in reality the women already take on most of the decision making responsibilities.

Gender-based planning. Based on the analysis, it was recommended that gender sensitivity seminars should be undergone by both men and women; training opportunities for non-traditional roles should be opened up to women; greater recognition of women should be advocated; that parenthood must be shared; and, that egalitarian relationships between men and women must be encouraged.

These recommendations were translated to projects that would train 50 men and women on gender consciousness, provide training programs to upgrade the existing skills of women, pressure/influence legislators/policymakers to mandate gender sensitivity on government programs, and design a program to convince the husbands of the value of sharing responsibilities at home.

Gender-based project implementation. PHILDHRRA began to look for support for such programs to be implemented. One immediate response was a project supported by ICCO in which the NGOs would have to integrate the Gender-based Framework into their existing programs. Provisions were made for support to be channelled to NGOs to facilitate these changes and to one particular community to be provided with gender awareness sessions and capability-building trainings, as well as capital for support services and for livelihood projects.

Gender-based monitoring and evaluation tool

Baseline data	*Project duration (mos)*				*Targets*
	6	*12*	*18*	*24*	
Income of women is P748.00/month					Income raised from P 748.00 to P 1000.00
Number of hours woman is working at home is 9.6 hours					Number of work hours at home is reduced to 5 hours
Number of hours man is working at home is 6.5 hours					Number of work hours at home is reduced to 5 hours
Number of employable skills of women is 5					Number of employable skills is increased to 10
Ratio of decision making from 70 - 40					Ratio of decision making to 50 - 50
No support service for women					Presence of daycare, health centers, water supply

Monitoring and evaluation. The monitoring and evaluation tools were agreed upon jointly by the NGO and the partner women's organization. The monitoring and evaluation tools were designed to monitor the changes that occured during the project life as registered by the changes from the baseline data towards the targetted quantities. (See the sample Gender-based monitoring and evaluation tool used on the preceeding page.)

The qualitative changes in the women such as assertiveness, the ability to articulate in public, and the positive attitudes of the community towards women were noted as effects of the project.

Reflections

The reflections of the participants of such programs expressed that they were surprised that gender issues can be treated as a political issue and may be tackled analytically. The usual resistance and reactions evoked by discussions on gender equality quiet down to tolerable levels once credible data is able to illustrate gender oppression.

The targets and the methodologies become clearer and can possibly be worked out by men and women alike. This is an achievement inherent in the process which stipulates consciousness raising, starting with realities, harnessing alternatives and agreeing on a vision that is congruent with humanistic aspirations.

Using the gender-sensitive process also shows how gender issues can easily be integrated into other development programs. Gender issues rightfully deserve the same energies development workers devote to other concerns such as economic and political empowerment, the environment, and sustainable development.

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Gisela Burckhardt

Further education needs of women in the informal sector: The example of Duterimbere in Rwanda

In May 1987 several motivated Rwandan women founded Duterimbere which means »Let us march forward«. They developed an emblem depicting four women unning energetically up to a bank. It represents the principle aim of the woman's organisation: to provide access to loans for women from all levels of society. Duterimbere is affiliated to Women's World Banking (WWB).

The women's organisation which has been in existence now for five years, had at the end of 1991 570 members of which 500 women are individual members, the rest groups. Only a minority of the women however who approach Duterimbere for help actually become members: up until now Duterimbere has counselled more than 2260 women and groups.

Aims and programmes of Duterimbere

The women's organisation persues the following four aims:

1. Better integration of the Rwandan women in the economic development of the country.

2. Stimulation of the entrepreneurial spirit of the Rwandan woman.

3. Access to loans.

4. Improvement of the socio-economic conditions of women and families.

In order to attain these four aims, Duterimbere has developed various programmes:

1. Sensibilisation at a national and international level for the genuine needs of women.

2. Further education and information for the women carrying out projects, for the members and personnel of Duterimbere.

3. Technical support: counselling, financial assistance, follow-up supervision of borrowers.

4. Study and research in order to increase product diversity and to examine profitability.

5. Sale of the products manufactured by the women at a shop on the site of Duterimbere.

In the initial years it was a matter of building up the organisation, securing a financial footing, making contacts and spreading informaion on the work of the organisation to the provinces, amongst women and as well as national institutions. Of all the programmes today technical support has the greatest priority as this programme embodies the main aim of Duterimbere — of providing women with access to loans.

The savings and credit programme of Duterimbere

The following three savings and credit forms are promoted, respectively supported, by Duterimbere today:

1. Saving (in the form of tontines)
2. Direct loans from Duterimbere (1.7 million FRW)
3. Credit guarantee by Duterimbere for the bank (7 million FRW).

Duterimbere established the savings and direct loan programme in 1991; the organisation has been providing loan guarantees to banks since 1989. Here Duterimbere functions as mediator between the bank and the borrower in that it offers guarantee for the woman's venture to the bank after having examined the applicant's project and given her expert advice. These women (the majority from the capital, Kigali) generally run small or medium-sized businesses and can provide sufficient security for the banks. Up until now Duterimbere has given security for a total of 1.3 million FRW, that is approximately DM 18,600 (exchange rate: 70,- FRW) i.e. the borrowing limit is by no means exhausted.

It is the women however who do not appear credit-worthy to the banks who require a loan. Duterimbere has made this possible for several women since 1991. Of the 1.7 million FRW at its disposal, Duterimbere granted, in 1991 alone, loans totalling more than 1 million FRW (approx. DM 14,300) to 23 women/groups. These were smaller amounts up to a maximum of FRW 500,000 for women/groups working not only in the area of commerce but also in agriculture and the food processing industry. These direct loans are for a one year term. However: these women or groups also require guarantees for Duterimbere. If a woman does not have a husband or relative who can stand surety for her, she will not obtain a loan from Duterimbere even if her project appears promising.

These women have to resort to saving. This is impossible for the majority of women at home as the family makes claims on the money. For this reason one often finds saving groups, so-called tontines, in Rwanda. Women (e.g. market women) form groups and each pays a fixed amount of money on a weekly basis, the amount being the same for all. Each week one person receives the total sum of money cash on the hand — in this way everyone receives the money in turn and can dispose of it as she wishes. Duterimbere supports this form of saving.

In order to obtain a loan from Duterimbere the woman has to first of all place a written application. If the application appears economically sound and the woman can provide surety, staff from Duterimbere travel to the site and examine the project. The applicant has to provide at least 10% of the credit sum from her own capital.

Before putting in an application however, the majority visit the office of Duterimbere first. Some have only a vague idea, others are unable to draw up a »calculation of profits«. Even the filling out of an application involves a great deal of effort for some, particularly for those women who are illiterate. It is therefore not surprising that Duterimbere has seen more than 2200 women in the last four years yet ultimately processed only 900 applications.

The following conclusions on Duterimbere can be drawn:

- Most loans go to individuals and not to groups.
- Most women who obtain loans come from Kigali as Duterimbere has too few branches in the provinces. These loans are used mainly for business ventures.
- In the rural areas Duterimbere supports more groups than individuals. There are many illiterates in the groups as these women clearly feel more capable of managing a project in a group rather than by themselves. They generally require credit for productive purposes such as agriculture or food processing.
- Duterimbere's emphasis on the economic profitability of a project as sole criteria for its support, as well as the formal requirements of the borrowers, means that Duterimbere ultimately supports those women who are already better off. Poor women and women in rural areas, where more than 90% of the population live and work, go short.

Further education needs of the clients of Duterimbere

Two Duterimbere workers established in November 1991 with the help of a survey which covered 160 women — 21 individual clients and 16 groups consisting of 139 women — the further education needs of its clients. More than half of the individual clients lieved in the town, predominantly Kigali, whereas 87% of the women's groups lived in rural areas. Here one must add that in Rwanda one talks of life »on the hills«: The country is densely populated and the population is distributed evenly over all hills. There are no villages and wide stretches of open space as in other countries.

More than 90% of the population still live on the hills although there has been a steady increase in migration to the towns (in particular Kigali) in the last few years. The place where a woman lives has a strong influence on her chances of education. Whereas all individual clients of Duterimbere have attended at least primary school and a few even secondary school, this is not the case with the women's groups from the rural areas. This makes control of the finances difficult and readily leads to an atmosphere of mistrust. More than half of the women's groups save money through the tontines. Men, too, can join the groups although they are not allowed to form a majority. The men are usually only present to represent their wives.

According to the aforementioned survey, women named further education as their most important requirement. This is surprising as generally the need for credit is seen to be the largest problem by most women. It also shows that women immediately recognise the need for further education as soon as they begin to carry out a venture with the assistance of a loan or other form of support.

Before women obtain a loan from Duterimbere, they have to participate in a two-day introductory course on basic accountancy. This course clearly imparts insufficient knowledge as far as the true needs of the women are concerned. Thus all the women interviewed in the survey expressed the wish for more further education.

Further education needs do differ however depending on whether the women live in the town or on the hills and whether they have obtained a loan as an individual or as a group.

Of the 21 individual clients interviewed, 76% expressed the wish for further education in marketing. They wanted to be able to carry out market analysis i.e. they wanted to find out what products appeal the most to their clients, how they can go about advertising etc. 56% of the groups also wanted further education in this area.

Accountancy and management (81%) were clearly the most important areas of further education for the groups. Here more value is understandably placed on the control of finances in order to prevent possible embezzlement. Because of their generally poorer school education, these women also feel more uncertain in accounting matters than their counterparts from the town.

A third of the women on the hills voiced the desire for counselling / further education in improved agricultural methods as well as the use of better seeds, more productive varieties, improved storage possibilities for grain etc.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

- The desire for further education is larger than the desire for loans. It appears that after an intial phase of experimentation most women recognise the need for further education.
- The further education needs for women in the groups are found to be greater in all areas — with the exception of marketing — than for individuals. This is probably connected with the fact that the majority of these women live on the hills and have a poorer basic education than the women in the town. School education is thus a decisive factor in encouraging women to become entrepreneurs. It gives them more security and self-confidence.

- Up until now Duterimbere has attached great importance to the economic profitability of a venture and made this more or less the sole criterium for obtaining support. Other criteria such as developing a feeling of solidarity for one another, boosting the self-confidence of women through a group also play an important role however as they contribute to a strengthening of the position of women in society. These criteria have been paid too little attention in the past.

Limits of technical further education

Further education in the aforementioned areas can only help women solve their problems to a certain extent. Social barriers remain. A woman in her role as wife is not only restricted by her husband but in the majority of cases completely dependent on him.

Legal discrimination of women

In Rwanda a woman can only become an entrepreneur with the permission of her husband. According to the 1971 Law concerning the Register of Companies a woman can only register her business with the consent of her husband.

A married woman also requires the permission of her husband if she wishes to join an organisation. If she therefore wants to apply for a loan from Duterimbere together with other women, she first of all needs the consent of her husband.

A woman's assets automatically belong to her husband. A successful female entrepreneur can therefore never control her income alone.

Of particular concern is the fact that women are unable to inherit property although it is usually they who have to work the land. Land always belongs to the father, the brother or husband and can be taken away from her at any time. This has consequences, in particular for long term investments, for a woman will think twice about improving the fertility of the land in the long term with laborious biological methods when she can increase fertility in the short term with chemical fertilisers.

Socio-cultural discrimination of women

About 45% of all women are legally married, 15% are married according to traditional law and 40% live together in a de-facto relationship which is not legally recognised.

The man is the boss in the marriage and determines the place of residence. As the woman cannot purchase property (this is only possible in the group), she has to leave house and land behind if she separates from her husband.

Although polygamy is legally prohibited in Rwanda, it is still practised and is also socially recognised. It has tradition and was only formally abolished in 1952 with the adoption of Belgian law. About 14% of all men have two or three wives with whom they permanently live. Apart from this form of permanent and public cohabitation, numerous men have mistresses. These women are not socially recognised.

The second wife is not always worse off. Although she is seen as number two in the public eye, from the legal point of view it depends which woman the man recognises as his wife. In this way a man can have a child with his first wife yet not recognise this child but rather the children from his second wife. The majority of conflicts arise from financial support and recognition of the children. The woman who is not recognised has to bear the burden alone.

Another form of discrimination against women is the so-called »inkwano«, a type of dowry which is still customary in rural areas. In some cases women are still bargained for: the man who offers the most keeps her. The man is the purchasing party and takes possession of the woman. This tradition contributes to the general derogatory attitude towards women.

The low standing of the female sex is also so deeply rooted in the minds of the women that they themselves feel or are made to feel inferior. One of the largest problems in the groups which Duterimbere supports and counsels is the women's lack of self-esteem and self-confidence as well as the lack of respect and trust for each other.

Duterimbere's further education programme runs up against obstacles everywhere because social discrimination against women continues to exist. This is hardly voiced by Duterimbere and seminars which could lead to greater awareness and change, are not offered. Duterimbere does not promote the joining of female forces sufficiently and does not take an offensive enough stand against the discrimination of women in society. Technical further education is necessary but the development of a social conscience and awareness raising for women is just as imperative.

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This article is an invitation to enter into the discussion on the evaluation of projects on adult education and offers criteria which can be helpful for such a discussion.

Henner Hildebrand is a staff member of the Institute for International Cooperation of the DVV. He is responsible, above all, for the area of Asia.

Henner Hildebrand

Adult education, development and the question of evaluation: Invitation for dialogue

A development-oriented adult education is effective and has a sustainable impact when under supportive circumstances these learning experiences foster the capacities of individuals and groups to improve their leverage in social and economic terms. On the other hand a development-oriented adult education, again, has to contribute to create these supportive circumstances. On the whole this

Project Design

Do...

Find out what people do and how they spend time.
Look at the cultural division of labor that exists.
Analyze cultural beliefs and practices and assess what level of change is feasible.
Identify target group and relative workload.
Identify the problem and whose it is.
Have clear, measurable, specific objectives.
Analyze the population composition and access to and control of available resources.
Have a clear strategy, time schedule and workplan for attaining objectives.
Involve beneficiaries and build in their contribution.
Involve a clear management structure and divide responsibilities.
Build in monitoring and evaluation and sustainability mechanisms.
Ensure that the project is culturally suitable
(for example, no pork production in a Muslim culture).
Consider practical needs and strategic interests.
Monitor women's participation.

Don't...

Impose projects.
Forget that changes in traditional patterns of work may involve conflict so get the beneficiaries to assess the risk.
Target the entire community as a homogeneous group.
Introduce unaffordable or inappropriate technology.
Initiate unsustainable projects.
Let the funding dictate terms of the project.
Design the project without knowing the beneficiaries.
Ask as an introductory question what people's needs are.

Source: Gender and Development Workshop Report, 25 Jan. - 3 Feb. 1992, Freetown, Sierra Leone, published by DVV interpretation of adult education already connotes the meaning of a people-centered development as the meaning of the expansion of capacities and knowledge of people to understand, react to and act on their changing environment and to increase their capabilities to better meet their social, economic and cultural needs. We know that adult education organised by NGOs in this way can contribute to reducing the powerlessness of the organised poor. Success will be achieved if this strategy is mapped out and implemented in a participatory manner and if it promotes the self-organising capacity of the poor.

The rise of this strategy begins at the micro-level but the dynamics of the learning and organising processes may soon touch the macro-level:

»... the most important contribution of NGOs is to be seen in the fact that people do not behave according to their wishes but according to what they think is realistic. By improving skills in organisation, by limited successes, by conscience formation, by vocational training, by demonstrating the economic feasibility of what previously had been considered unfeasible, the domain of options perceived as non realistic shrinks. By that method, the NGO's can spark off movements much larger than what they presently are.« (Elsenhans 1988:22, in: Benterbusch, 1988:87*).

On the micro-level this trend materialises by fostering the organisations of the poor, a macro-level impact will be facilitated by their cooperation and networking on an issue-based approach, so that they manage »to affect the whole institutional framework of a country serving to make central institutions more effective and responsive...« (Esmann/Uphoff 1984:18, in: Benterbusch, 1988:71).

We must assume that adult education as part and parcel of these processes can achieve the desired impact if it imparts the needed

Project Assessment

Do...

Assess who actually benefitted.
Identify shifts in workloads and types of work done.
Check for community involvement.
Assess the types of needs met, whether strategic or practical.
Assess whether the target group has changed since the project design.
Assess changes within the intended target group.
Consider relationships between the target group and others.
Identify the environmental impact.
Consider who has access to resources.
Use indicators to measure progress according to objectives.
Use the analytical framework.
Be open-minded, especially to unintended benefits and problems.
Adapt interventions to new challenges.

Don't...

Talk to only the target group.
Ignore traditional authorities.
Alienate sections of the community.
Go into the field with biases, or at least know them.
Have cultural biases.

Source: Gender and Development Workshop Report, 25 Jan. - 3 Feb. 1992, Freetown, Sierra Leone; published by DVV

competences through relevant content, appropriate methods and through evolvement of organisational capacities.

If this would be — a rather sketchy and theoretical — rationale for an adult education programme it would be followed by the description of the situation of the target groups, the objectives, the programme components, the means and methods and the expected outcomes.

But this is not the purpose of this article. The incentive for writing this article is derived from the desire to improve the chances for achieving the objectives set in our rationales and programme documents. We know that the processual character of adult education cannot easily be measured in terms of raised awareness about a certain issue or increased competence in a specific economic and social activity or in the »level of empowerment«. Again, we have to be more critical to evolve ideas about describing, monitoring and evaluating these processes as an integral part of the learning processes. When comparing goals/objectives and effects/outcomes: what supportive role does adult education play, what really is its impact!

When we look at the results and effects of our activities, our support schemes, our training, classes etc. one wonders what really has been achieved? Has income been generated? Have productive skills increased and how are they used? Have the organisations of the learners grown and have the adult education institutions improved their own organisational effectiveness?

Too often the set objectives are declared as achieved outcomes.

Too often the taking place of a workshop is seen as success as such, no matter what follows.

Too often the successful results are just proven by statistics of numbers of participants and days of attendance but not by intangible effects on the life of the learners. The question arises whether adult educators can claim to be successful organisers in enabling adults in social and economic competences when the proof is mainly seen from the perspective of the adult educator or another outsider.

Contact with beneficiaries

Do...

Enter through existing groups within the community.
Work with extension workers.
Work with traditional authorities.
Contact a cross-section of the population.
Provide for a feedback mechanism.

Don't...

Go into the field with biases (or at least know your biases).
Ignore traditional authorities and structures already operating in the community.

Source: Gender and Development Workshop Report, 25 Jan. - 3 Feb. 1992, Freetown, Sierra Leone; published by DVV

Sure, it is necessary to judge the effects, successes and failures of adult educational activities from the perspective of the adult educator more critically and to overcome his lack of ability and knowledge in that. But adult educators should also analyse the wider developmental environment, the chances and barriers affecting their action.

So far monitoring and evaluation appears more as an annex to activities as seen in the excerpt drawn from the minutes of a workshop on 'Planning, Programming and Budgeting Training Workshop' Report, Bo, 1 - 6.11.1992, page 7 (organised by DVV-Project Office Freetown and Partner's Coordinating Office):

»The facilitator pointed out that monitoring and evaluation are continuous exercises which need to be done periodically. He stressed that monitoring will allow them to check the day-to-day progress of their projects, and evaluation will allow them to make corrections as and when needed to keep the project on course. By the end of this session, participants understood that for every objective, there are indicators. These indicators depict that the objective has been achieved.

During action-plan presentations, it was discovered that most groups had left out monitoring and evaluation as activities to help them achieve their goals. Further, they had not included these activities in their budgets. Again, the facilitator emphasised his original point, that these two functions are often overlooked. At that point, all groups added monitoring and evaluation details to their respective plans.«

Of course evaluation done after completion of a certain learning phase may produce valuable information about the successes and failures and it may direct a more effective project planning in future.

However, it is only when we organise the entire learning experience as an evaluation-process that from the very beginning all related decisions are informed by the needs and aspirations of the learners.

Shortcomings in this field are the lack of competent evaluators of adult education and training programmes, lack of transferring the theories of evaluation into meaningful practice and the integration of evaluation into the whole learning process as such. There is a lack of understanding about qualitative indicators and a lack of understanding how to involve the learners in identifying the indicators relevant to their own situation leading to the trap of confusing objectives and effects, neglecting research into the real impact.

Here and there deficiences in evaluatory practices are being recognised and tackled. A small but practical step to overcome the negligence of verifying the outcomes and the impact is the project design »Do's and Don'ts for Field Work« (see boxes).

While my line of thought does not speak against post-evaluatory practices as long as they are not frequently employed, I rather speak for more consideration to participative monitoring and evaluation of learning processes since chances for enhancing their quality and impact would otherwise be lost.

In drawing attention to the issue of evaluation I wish to call for more articles dealing with this topic and to be published in this journal.

*Ulrich Benterbusch (1988), Ländliche Armut trotz Entwicklungsprogrammen — Eine Untersuchung zum Beitrag des Staates, internationaler Geber und Nichtregierungsorganisationen zur ländlichen Entwicklung in der Dritten Welt, Saarbrücken, Breitenbach

Jonathan Zeitlyn
Appropriate media for training and development
This handbook presents ideas and techniques which can be used for third world development to communicate, educate and train people.
Copies are available, as long as stocks last from:
German Adult Education Association, Institute for International Cooperation, Obere Wilhelmstraße 32, D-53225 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

An area of adult education which has long been practised but which only in more recent times has been receiving more attention, concerns the question of adult education in prisons. What should it achieve, why has it failed? These questions are looked at by J.W. Cosman in his article. It is a reprint from the International Council for Adult Education Newsletter, Number 10, December 1991.

J.W. Cosman is the Editor of the »Education and Criminal Justice Newsletter», 1265 Carson Avenue, Dorval, Quebec H95 1M5, Canada.

J.W. Cosman

Why education in prisons has failed

Education in prisons is not a new idea! For centuries it has been one of the principal methodologies of prisons, aimed at the rehabilitation of the prisoner. Other methodologies have included work, moral training and discipline. All four have been variously emphasized at different times.

Education, however, like the other methodologies, has failed to achieve its rehabilitative aim. Why is this so? Why has education failed in prisons notwithstanding the multitudes of people who have been confined in them, most of whom have been under-educated and even illiterate, yet capable of learning? To answer this question, let us summarize and review, very briefly, the nature of prisons as they have evolved in the modern era.

The purposes of legal punishment can be divided into two groups, according to whether their underlying goal is the protection of society against crime, or retribution. The first group can be subdivided into two: individual crime prevention and general crime prevention. Individual prevention is thought to be achieved through the rehabilitation, deterrence or incapacitation of the offender. General prevention is thought to be achieved through deterrent or other effects of punishment on others. The second group, which has the underlying goal of retribution, and which is a mixture of vengeance and scapegoating, can also be subdivided into two, depending on how the degree of punishment is determined, whether based mainly on the harmfulness of the offence or on the moral guilt of the offender.

In practice, legal punishment is defended on both grounds, the protection of society and retribution, even though the first cannot be supported by empirical evidence but only by an appeal to an unfounded »common sense« belief in its effectiveness, and the second cannot be based on any enlightened system of moral thought but only on anger and the emotional desire for revenge. »Centuries can pass«, writes René Girard, »before men realize that there is no real difference between their principle of justice and the concept of revenge.«[1]

Protection of society against crime

Individual crime prevention

a) *Rehabilitation.* None of the four traditional rehabilitative methodologies, neither education, work, moral training nor discipline, has proved effective. In the past thirty years, a considerable number of empirical studies have shown that the results of all four approaches have been largely poor. Moreover, not only do rehabilitative programmes not rehabilitate; they often tend to be destructive, to dehabilitate. Prisons are in fact »schools of crime«.

b) *Deterrence.* Empirical studies have shown also that the prison has very little deterrent effect on the individual offender, mainly because of the rejection experienced in being confined in prison, and because some of the results of that rejection are a hostility and a deep distrust and a counter-rejection of the prison system, its staff and all its works. Such conditions are hardly conducive to any positive response on the part of the prisoner.

c) *Incapacitation.* The third way of achieving individual crime prevention is thought to be by incapacitation. This too, however, has proved to be ineffective, because dangerous behaviour cannot be predicted reliably. It simply does not work, as studies have shown. Moreover, this way is open to the ethical objection that it assumes guilt and sentences people for future offenses not yet committed. It is based on a kind of prophesy, and anticipatory biography of crime before the fact[2].

General crime prevention

The protection of society against crime is sought also by general prevention, that is, by the deterrent or other effects of punishment on people other than offenders, namely, potential offenders. Here, although the research results are not so clear, there is no evidence that expected punishment has more than a marginal deterrent effect on youthful criminal behaviour; and although there is some indication of a general deterrent effect in the case of some types of trivial crimes, there is no evidence of such an effect on the performance of serious crimes. Moreover, punishment of offenders does not function as a denunciatory or moral influence on potential offenders. The intended »message« simply does not get through to those who are likely to commit crimes. Although it seems to have an effect on people who are unlikely to commit crimes, it does not influence those who need it. It tends to be interpreted by them not as a deterring message at all, but as just more moralizing and rejection.

General crime prevention, like incapacitation, is also open to an ethical question: is it right to punish someone in order to prevent quite different people from committing similar acts?

So all the preventive purposes of legal punishment fall short, although they may continue to legitimize it in the public sphere.

Retribution

The protection of society, however, is not the only goal of legal punishment. There is also the goal of inflicting suffering, »doing justice«, balancing the scales, expiation, »getting even«, meting out »just deserts« or penalties that »fit the crime«, in a word: vengeance.

Most criminal law is punitive, reflecting our strange belief in it as a kind of penal magic, as if violence could produce non-violence, as if reconciliation could be its aim and effect. Justice as retribution also reflects the human instinct for violence which has been recognized since antiquity, and which scapegoating rituals and the great religions of the world have tried to control.

Retribution is sought by means of a violent response to an earlier violence and reveals little difference between the violent act which the violence of justice is supposed to punish and the violence of justice itself. As a response to and reprisal against violence, justice as retribution is symmetrical with vengeance, however legal and »due processed« it may be.

Societies discourse endlessly about the right to punish, the subtle degrees of punishment, its denunciatory benefits, its proportionality to harm and guilt, which can never be finally adjusted; in vain they compare the desired effects with the results achieved. The fact is that no one has ever successfully justified the infliction of punishment on another person as good, as a cause of well-being. »Punishment, however legal«, writes Morin, »does not go beyond evil... but actually implies that one who surrenders to it surrenders to evil, contaminates and is contaminated, is himself diminished and diminishes others. If only punishment used its power to raise up the criminal. But it cannot...«[3] And Foucault writes: »in the execution of the most ordinary penalty, in the most punctilious respect of legal forms, reign the active forces of revenge.«[4]

That it is difficult to eliminate the notions of retribution and punishment from our moral thinking illustrates the power of habituation in human thought and feeling. The fact of their existence, however, does not justify their perpetuation. Vengeance does not produce non-vengeance. Punishment does not result in reconciliation and peace. Yet, despite all human experience of violence, and despite our greatest spiritual insights, societies continue to respond, in their judicial systems, to the primordial and mimetic urges of anger and revenge.

The question

And so societies are still perplexed about the significance of their punitive prescriptions. For their prescriptions are ineffective as means of protecting society against crime; and as means of retribution they neither deter nor serve any other purpose except the appeasement of anger and the satisfaction of vengeful emotion by the infliction of retaliatory pain, which serves only to perpetuate and even escalate the cycle of violence.

The main question here is one of values, where discovery is not so much scientific as a matter of intuitive insight. This is not arbitrary. Values impose themselves on our human faculties. For example, we know intuitively that it is right to provide nourishment for children and wrong not to do so. Such a value, moreover, meets the test of universality. It was a value yesterday and will be a value tomorrow, and It is a value for others.

The question is important. For it not only relates to the increasing crime in our societies and to the increasing numbers of people who commit crime and are punished. It also has implications for the political life of societies and their methods of social control, for the conduct of international relations, and even for the day-to-day life of individuals. The question is about the growth or decline of violence as a method of resolving human conflict. The question is whether punishment contributes to human good, to the conditions of human flourishing, to the enhancement of human dignity.

Education in prisons

If education has been one of the main rehabilitative methodologies of prisons for some hundreds of years, why has it not been successful? Education being primarily a matter of human development, it might be expected to have a special relevance in prisons.

Yet, with rare exceptions, it has not been effective. The reason is fairly evident. According to most studies, from scientific investigations to informal first-hand observations by professional educators, prison education programmes tend to be both inadequate and of inferior quality. There are four reasons for this: education's incompatibility with punishment, with prison regimes and with the prison culture, and the educational philosophy usually adopted.

Education and punishment

Neither in theory nor in practice is it possible to reconcile the retributive purpose of prisons with the purpose of education as human development. These aims are not only incompatible; they are contradictory, like trying to walk and stand still at the same time. Punishment is the infliction of suffering. It produces hatred and violence. Education is the nurture of growth and fulfilment and creation, the development of the human person in all his human dimensions. It is next to impossible for education to flourish in a milieu characterized by punishment. Punishment is in fact anti-educational.

Education and the prison regime

Prisons are usually authoritarian, bureaucratic organizations preoccupied with considerations of security and inclined to recognize their punitive goal as dominant. A result is that prison education does not usually have the support and care it needs in order to succeed. Consequently, most prison education, although it should be of fundamental concern, is in practice rarely more than a marginal and mediocre activity at best. The manifestations are obvious: low expectations, poor educational achievement, weak curricula, small enrolments, and so on.

Education and the prison culture

The existence of a prison culture in both large and small penal institutions is well-known. Studies indicate that it arises from the various pains of imprisonment which the prisoner experiences. Mathiesen reports as follows:

> *The basic deprivation of liberty itself, the deprivation of goods and services, the deprivation of heterosexual relations, the deprivation of autonomy, and the deprivation of security in relation to other inmates, are so painful that they create a need for defence. That defensive need is met through the establishment of the prisoners' community with its particular norms and values. Life in the prisoners' community does not remove the pain, but at least it alleviates or moderates it. A common culture protects against the pressures from the environment.*[5]

Studies indicate also that police, courts and prisons generate or intensify a sense of rejection on the part of prisoners as members of society. The prisoners' reply to the rejection is to reject those who rejected them.

These conditions work against the success of any rehabilitative programme, including education.

Educational philosophy

There is much confusion about the nature and role of education in prisons. It is most often seen as a tool of incarcerational technology, for example, as a way of keeping prisoners busy, of »killing time«, of facilitating control, of preserving institutional tranquility. This grotesque interpretation of education reflects nothing whatever of the prisoner as a human being needing human development.

Prison education also tends to be thought of as a preparation for employment, as a matter of training in certain skills. That aim determines the nature of most education available to prisoners. The skill training involved, however, contributes very little to the »full development of the human personality«, the aim of education envisioned in the International Bill of Human Rights.

Moreover, education in prisons is often limited to elementary levels, for example, literacy training and »basic life skills«. Such programmes, however necessary, do not go very far along the road of human development. In fact, they operate at a relatively underdeveloped stage of human life, where intelligence functions mainly as an instrument of human adaptation and survival.

But what should education in prisons be? It is not enough to say what it should not be. Education in prisons means the activity of forming or developing or assisting in the formation or development of individual persons, particularly in their intellectual and affective aspects. That is the aim. There is a great need, however, for a new formulation of what the content of such education should be in detail. Perhaps such a formulation will be elaborated before long. It is a current need of major importance. What exactly do we develop when we develop a person? What, must we ask, does the United Nations goal of education »directed to the full development of the human personality« mean? And how is it to be achieved?

Conclusion

The question raised at the outset of this brief review was why has education failed in prisons, notwithstanding the great educational need in them on the part of large numbers of prisoners, most of whom are under-educated and have been poor, rejected, even oppressed, and usually leading meaningless lives. The foregoing analysis reveals that it has failed for more than one reason, including reasons arising from prevailing concepts of punishment, from derived criminal law and penal policy, and from inadequate notions of education itself.

The following United Nations resolutions provide a basis and some guiding principles for undertaking remedial action:

- General Assembly Resolution 45/111 dated 28 March 1991 on the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, adopted 14 December 1990.
- General Assembly Resolution 45/122 dated 3 April 1991 on Criminal Justice Education, adopted 14 December 1990.
- Economic and Social Council Resolution 1990/20 on Prison Education, adopted 24 May 1990.

The ICAE Implementation Plan for 1991 - 95, dated November 5, 1990, suggests a plan of action for adult educators and their associations.

Copies of the above United Nations resolutions in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish are available from J.W. Cosman, 1265 Carson Avenue. Dorval, Québec, H9S 1M5, Canada. Tel.: (514) 631-6893; Fax: (514) 426-3827. Copies of the ICAE Implementation Plan are available from Ana Krajnc, Coordinator, ICAE Education and Criminal Justice Programme, Princiceva 3, 61210 Ljubljana, Slovenia. Tel.: 38-61-50 522; Fax: 38-61-222 484.

Notes

1. Girard, René (1977) *Violence and the Sacred* (P. Gregory, trans.). Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 24. (Originally published 1972)
2. This does not militate against restraining people who are demonstrably violent and dangerous.

3. Morin, Lucien (1981) »Correctional Education as Practice of the Judicial Approach: A Contradiction« in Morin, L. (ed.) *On Prison Education*, Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.
4. Foucault, Michel (1979) *Discipline and Punish* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books, 48. (Originally published 1975)
5. Mathiesen, Thomas (1990) *Prison on Trial*. London: Sage Publications, 43.

IEC News

This journal is published by the International Extension College which has developed together with the University of London External Programme a post-graduate MA and Diploma in Distance Education. The following courses are available:

Course 1: Education and development
Course 2: The development of distance education
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For further information, please write to:

International Extension College, Office D, Dales Brewery, Gwydir Street, Cambridge CB1 2IJ, England.

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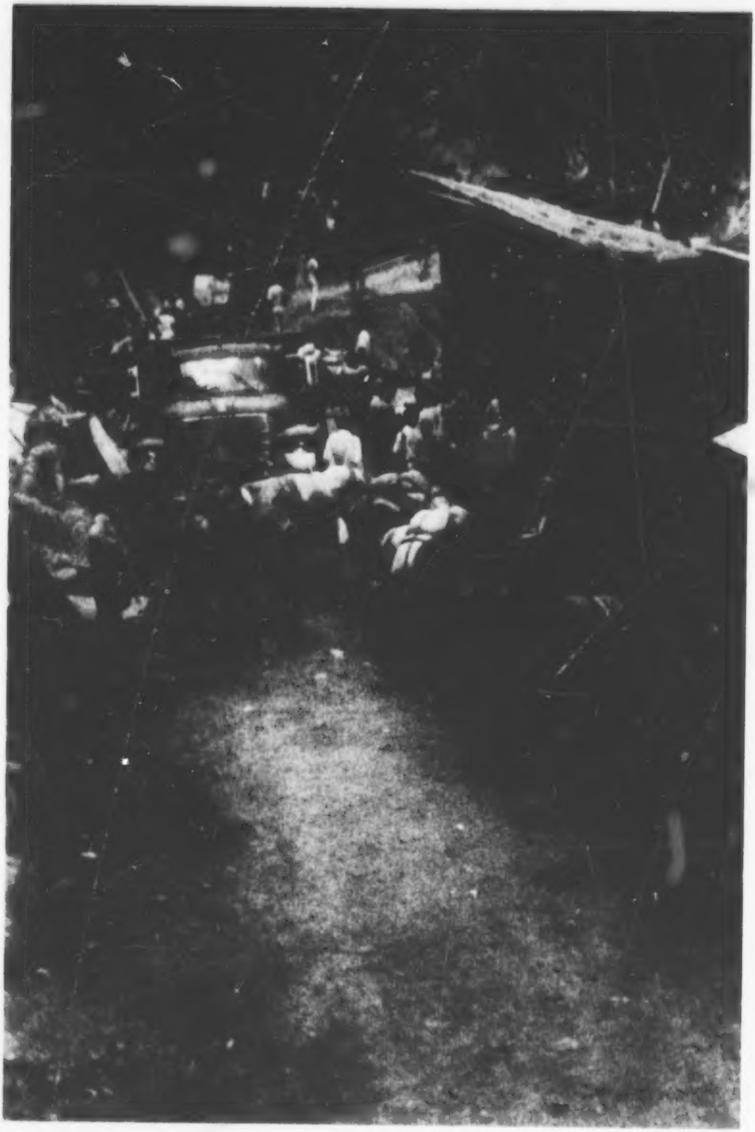

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Adult education from an informal approach is geared to the needs and requirements of its target groups in their local settings, and has strong links to community development. In Colombia there is a national program of this nature that brings basic education to rural communities. The program has a long history of development and experience, and a promising future. We are publishing below a concrete description of one experience in one part of the country.

National Ministry of Education
Department of Adult Education

Community participation in Vegas de Chili and La Selva (Tolima, Colombia)

Background

The educational program »Equipos de Educación Fundamental« (Fundamental Education Teams) was created by the National Ministry of Education as an integrated service in response to the needs of adolescents and adults in the marginal communities of rural Colombia. Under that program, a team was assigned to the municipality of Rovira in Colombia's Department of Tolima. Within the framework of the Municipal Development Plan, it was the task of that team, using the methods of functional education, to develop a series of adult education activities in order to capacitate the communities to take part in the processes of production, to document the processes of culture and to provide social education for personal and community development.

Upon taking up their assignment in the region, the Fundamental Education Team selected the communities of Vegas de Chili and La Selva, based on the following criteria:

1. Identification and participation of the community leaders,

2. Direct requests for service on the part of the communities themselves,

3. Community interest to participate in community development activities (as evidenced, among other initiatives, by their road building project),

4. The high population density, low academic level, problems related to morbidity and infant mortality,

5. The large diversity of natural resources available within the region to develop programs in its interest,

6. The cultural dynamics permitting the close contact required to promote integrated activities and community participation.

Activities

The Fundamental Education Team initiated its work in 1990 with a situational analysis involving the participation of the communities.

Its purpose was to determine what educational activities would best respond to the concerns, expectations and needs of the people. We met one day a week to design and develop the educational activities that were geared towards organized groups, one of which specialized in organizing a community restaurant to serve the adults on those days when integrated activities took place.

The proceeds from that measure went to employ a teacher for primary school education. In addition, sports days and cultural events were held, and people from other villages were invited to participate. Those occasions were taken as an opportunity to underscore the values and abilities demonstrated by the members of the communities.

Once the process had been set in motion, community assemblies were arranged at which priority was given to short and medium range educational needs. The community was aware in that connection that the success in reaching their goals would depend on their participation and commitment during the implementation of the project.

The project

The measures described resulted in the elaboration of a project which ran under the designation »Education towards Rural Community Development in Vegas de Chili and La Selva«. Project plans were submitted to the Municipal City Hall and to the German Adult Education Association (DVV) through the National Ministry of Education together with a petition for the funds the community would require in order to carry out and develop the activities they proposed.

The project focused on the following objectives:

1. the construction of 120 lavatories to solve the problem of environmentally appropriate sanitation,
2. the cultivation of trees to increase the production of avocado and timber,
3. the direct sale of avocados and bananas to wholesalers and other parties,
4. the creation of a training center to support and form production groups.

In response to the solicitation for funds, the following assistance, in Colombian pesos, was granted:

The German Adult Education Association	$520,000.00
Municipal Administration	$410,000.00
Contributions proceeding from the Community (labour and materials)	$4,992,000.00

The development of the project was fostered by the National Ministry of Education's project to promote public education and by the Department of Health.

It should be emphasized that the project, and particularly its tasks, were executed in a process of mutual help marked by solidarity and community spirit towards the work that was being developed.

Sub-projects

1. Environmental improvement (latrines)

This sub-project was co-financed by the Municipal Government and DVV. A total of forty families from the communities benefited therefrom.

2. Model Nursery for Community Development

A program involving the cultivation of improved plant species offered an alternative to the problems affecting the region in the areas of crop disease and the production and management of traditional crops. Fifty families took charge of the community nurseries and collaborated in tilling new lots and planting the new crops. Training was supported by the national vocational training agency (SENA), the regional development office (Secretario de Desarrollo), and the local organ of the federation of coffee producers (Comité de Cafeteros). A total of thirteen hectares (an equivalent of approximately 32 acres) have meanwhile been planted.

3. Small production groups

3.1 Commercializing agricultural products

The marketing of crops produced in the community nurseries as well as on private farms within the region had become a matter of constant concern to the community. Consequently, it was agreed to establish connections directly with wholesale markets so as to avoid having to deal with intermediaries.

An arrangement was made to coordinate marketing efforts together with the Association of Producers of Rovira (ASOROVIRA) to which 52 farmers belong, 80% of whom participate in the adult education program.

There is active participation on the part of the Association's members, who transport the crops to the wholesale markets, work to improve the system of product selection and classification, provide funds to initiate transactions, and keep abreast of the prices in neighbouring markets.

3.2 Production in the garment-manufacturing and carpentry sectors

This group comprises 20 families which the Fundamental Education team has provided with continuous training in the cited sectors. The team members have worked towards group integration, bearing in mind the characteristics and interests of each individual with the goal of maximizing production levels and creating new options for the community.

It merits mention that the organizational and participatory processes in the villages of Vegas de Chili and la Selva have resulted in an agreement with the council of Acción Comunal, the local community development initiative, to designate a plot of land for the construction of a training center in which popular local educators could lend continuity to the educational process by passing on the skills they had acquired.

To the extent the community inhabitants have been internalizing the principle of self-management and taking charge of their own development, it has become possible for the Fundamental Education team to diminish its institutional presence there.

Results and projections

- Identification and training of community leaders who foster continuity in the activation of educational processes initiated within the community.
- Significant alteration in the individualistic behaviour of a large part of the population, which was converted to solidarity, mutual help and self-management.
- Regulation of the prices at which locally produced products are marketed through the contacts to the wholesale centers organized through ASOROVIRA.
- An increase in economic development for the municipality of Rovira in the villages of Vegas de Chili and la Selva.
- Training and qualifying the communities for the productive sectors through various alternatives of non-formal education in harmony with the expectations and needs of the people.
- Concerted action and inter-institutional coordination in the various sub-projects that are already functioning, and short range opportunities for further ventures (for example, alternative technology projects in the small livestock sector in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture).
- Outfitting the Community Training Center where the community can have access to continuity and on-going training in the various non-formal education sectors.

GUIDE

to the

National Literacy Programme in Namibia

Literacy: Your Key
to a Better Future

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Namibia has set itself the aim of becoming completely literate by the year 2000. The following »Guide to the National Literacy Programme in Namibia« was jointly developed by ministries, political parties, churches, NGOs etc. The excerpts provide an overview of the planning, course and aims of the National Literacy Programme (NPLN) in Namibia. The Guide was published by the Department of Adult and Nonformal Education, Ministry of Education and Culture in Namibia in July 1992.

Guide to the National Literacy Programme in Namibia

Literacy: your key to a better future

Preface

This document sets out a plan for Namibia to become a fully literate nation by the year 2000. It is a bold plan, and we must be clear that it will require a concerted national effort over the next eight years. I therefore want to assure you that my Government is fully behind the National Literacy Programme, which we see as a priority for our national development. Fulfilling this plan is also part of the committment which we have given internationally according to the convention on the Rights of the Child and in terms of the plans formulated to achieve »education for all« at Jomtien in 1990.

The National Literacy Programme is a truly national plan since it has been developed over a period of a year in consultation with government ministries, parliamentarians, political parties, churches, non-governmental agencies, regional commissioners, community groups and the private sector. The Programme entails the establishment of literacy groups not just by government, but by non-governmental agencies, churches, farmers, the private sector, and anyone who wants to make a contribution (provided this is properly coordinated). Indeed, our programme will take on an international character. We have had encouragement and support from international agencies, especially SIDA and UNICEF, and several African states, and we look forward to their continued support.

But the responsibility for implementing the National Literacy Programme rests squarely on us Namibians. As we work together to help all our people learn to read and write, whether in our local languages or in English, I am sure that we are going to develop a better sense of what it means to be a reconciled united nation, and what we can accomplish when we set out with a will to deal with the inherited inequalities and backlogs which are an obstacle to our development.

Reading, writing and arithmetic are useful to people in many ways, as the Hon Dr. Mosé Tjitendero, Speaker of the National Assembly, sets out in this Guide. I will not deny that many things can be done by people who are not literate. But the point is that almost anything can be done better by people who are literate, because literacy enables us to analyse things more clearly and to bring the recorded experience of ourselves and others to bear on our problems. It makes possible better communication, which is often at the core of progress and development. It will enrich our culture. Of course, literacy is also a basic skill, without which it is difficult to add the modern skills of agriculture and industry which we now promote as a nation.

The progress of a nation depends to a very large extent on the abilities and attitudes of its people. We hope that through participation in the National Literacy Programme our people will not just acquire new skills, but a new confidence in their own abilities and imagination, and better exercise their rights and responsibilities as Namibian citizens. As people discover that they are indeed capable of mastering the skills of reading and writing they should also rightly conclude that they can be bolder in tackling other obstacles to progress in their lives. In short, one of the signs of the success of our Literacy Programme will be when participation in the democratic process increases in quantity and quality.

Now, since this Guide will be used by the many people working for its implementation, I ask you to keep three things in mind in the coming years.

Firstly, a person is not stupid or ignorant because he or she is illiterate. All adults have acquired many useful experiences on which we must build. It may not be the fault of an individual that he or she is illiterate. In any case, whatever has brought them there, learners in the literacy groups must be treated with love and respect, because, at the end of the day, we are all learners.

Secondly, we must work to involve both men and women in this Programme, aware of their roles in society. The benefits of women becoming literate are well documented, not only in terms of their own emancipation, but also in terms of the education, health and economic progress of the whole family. But many Namibian men seem to be hiding their illiteracy. The resultant reduced investment of their talents is surely also an obstacle to our economic and social progress. I therefore look forward to both men and women joining the literacy groups.

Thirdly, literacy programmes should also give impetus to other programmes of adult education, agricultural extension, primary health care, and so on. In this way we shall become not just a literate nation but an educated nation. Each and every one of us must keep learning. It is the only way that we can maintain our rightful place in a competitive world.

Sam Nujoma
President of the Republic of Namibia

Purpose of the manual

This manual has three aims.

The first is to inform those in positions of leardership, in government and in the private sector, of the nature of the National Literacy Programme in Namibia (NLPN).

Part I of this document describes in some detail how the NLPN will operate, those who will be helped, the personnel required to carry out the work effectively and the likely overall cost. It gives a vision of a nation actively working towards the creation of a literate Namibia.

The second purpose of this document is to ensure that everyone actually involved in the programme will know how it will develop over the first three years, that is for the financial years 92/93, 93/94 and 94/95. For them Part II is the operational manual, providing a step-by-step description of the work to be undertaken. It will also indicate to the non-governmental agencies how their endeavours will fit in with and receive support from government.

The third aim is to provide potential donors with a description of the NLPN and to point to areas where assistance is required.

Why literacy?

The Speaker of the National Assembly, The Hon Dr M.P. Tjitendero, when opening the national seminar on literacy in May 1991, gave this as the answer to the question, why literacy?

»*Literate persons are better able to cope with the modern world. A person who cannot read a sign, or a medicine bottle, or a fertilizer bag — let alone a text book — is going to experience problems. The person who cannot read or write a letter, or manage a bank account, faces many embarrassing situations. With technology advancing every day, those who cannot handle reading, writing and arithmetic — and they are usually the poorest in society — are going to find themselves increasingly at a disadvantage. The gap between the literate and illiterate in our society is likely to grow even wider, with all the social tensions implied by that, unless we take definite action to remedy the situation.*

Part of the solution to our economic problems will be to make people more productive. But if people are illiterate it will be difficult, if not impossible, to train them for new jobs and more efficient procedures.

It is a common experience that illiterate persons somehow feel that as they are uneducated they should keep quiet and leave the running of their country and even the community to others who apparently know better. This we certainly cannot afford, since development of our young democracy definitely requires the participa-

tion of each and every one of our citizens. There are no talents which we can afford to leave buried in the ground.

Through the acquisition of literacy we want our people therefore to be self-confident, well informed and, if necessary, critical. We want our citizens to boldly exercise the rights and responsibilities which are theirs as human beings.

We should also note the findings of research, that there are particular benefits associated with the literacy of women. Literate women are more likely to ensure that their children attend school. And since they are able to help their children at home, they will learn to read at an earlier age. It has also been found that the children of literate mothers enjoy better health on average, and this greatly affects their prospects in life.«

An overview

The NLPN is based on the following policies:

1. It shall be a national effort for all who presently lack and feel the need of learning the skills of reading, writing and numeracy.

2. Participation of learners shall be voluntary and without charge.

3. All bona fide organisations and interested individuals are invited to assist in the programme.

4. The aim is to promote literacy in local languages and English, and basic numeracy.

5. The programme shall be linked with whatever facilities are available for continuing education.

6. Participants will usually be restricted to remaining in the programme for three years.

7. The programme will be conducted in a learner and community-centred manner.

8. Co-operation will be fostered with those concerned with other aspects of development.

9. The executive management of NLPN is vested in the Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Adult and Non-Formal Education (hereinafter referred to as the Department), to which a salaried permanent staff will be assigned.

10. Community promoters, responsible for leading the learning groups, will be paid an honorarium.

11. A national framework will be established consisting of headquarters and regional staff, and community part-time promoters. At each level an appropriate representative body will supervise the undertaking.

12. The programme will involve the entire nation, and provide opportunities for all to take part. There will be three complementary operations:

    - Government sponsored programme
    - NGO/Private Sector programme
    - One-to-one packs for citizens unable to join a learning group.

13. It is the intention to have banished illiteracy in Namibia by the year 2000.

The learning process

This is structured in three stages. There is no time limit set for completing each stage, though it is expected that the entire process would usually occupy three years. Participants may commence at any stage, according to their own needs. However, in general persons who are wholly illiterate will commence working in their mother tongue at stage one.

Stage 1

Literacy and basic numeracy in mother tongues.

Stage 2

At this stage, learners will consolidate, reinforce and extend the skills of literacy already acquired by studying specially prepared functional materials in agriculture, health, etc in their mother tongues. Whereas the Department will prepare some of these materials, it is expected that as much as possible of the materials will be developed by the specialist agencies, reflecting the interest of learners.

Groups will meet at least three times a week and will be guided through these materials by a promoter or a group leader. They will also have at their disposal newspapers, and other materials from the agencies. Learners will share these with groups elsewhere, especially through the newsletter.

Some groups may start activities or projects involving the use of literacy/numeracy.

Times of spoken English radio programmes will be announced.

Stage 3

Literacy and numeracy in English.

The Community Literacy Committee will monitor progress and seek to ensure that specific needs are being met. It is recognised that stage 3 requires promoters who are confidently literate in English. It may not be possible for this stage to be available in every community. The DLO assigned to a community must be alert to the problem and seek to make the best arrangement possible.

The learning method

The learning method selected will have the following features:

a) it will be learner-centred, varied and involving,

b) it will have interesting materials which help to stimulate discussion and group activities,

c) it will be sufficiently straightforward to be readily applied by the promoters.

The Department will keep under constant review issues concerning the learning method and process and the content of materials. This is a responsibility of the Evaluation Officer at Headquarters, who will hold annual workshops in each Region for officials, promoters and learners. Writers workshops will be held and liaison maintained with publishing houses to ensure that material commercially available is evaluated and publicised. All publications will be scrutinised for gender issues.

Motivation

It is not anticipated that there will be any significant difficulties in motivating learners to register. It is important that RLOs, DLOs and Promoters should be alert to the necessity of explaining what participation in the programme involves in terms of time and energy, but also the advantages of learning. There should be no coercion, but some gentle encouragement may be needed. Care must be taken over the composition of groups, whether women and men wish to learn together, and if young and older people should be mixed or kept in separate classes.

Appendix 1:
Notes on the size of the problem

1. One of the most problematic issues in connection with planning in Namibia is the lack of reliable base data. Thus population estimates for 1989/90 vary from 1.3 million to 1.8 million. As regards illiteracy a figure of 60 - 70% illiterate in the adult (15+) population has been quoted frequently. In planning the literacy effort it is important to estimate, however crudely, the size of the problem, until census figures are available.

2. We have used what we believe is a fairly conservative estimate of 1.37 million inhabitants in 1991. This is based on projections made by the Statistics Office, Department of Economic Affairs in 1989. These projections used the 1981 Population Census figure of 1.0 million inhabitants as its starting point. A growth figure of 1.5% was used for the white population, 3% for the rest of the population with the exception of a residual group of 12,000 inhabitants for which a 0% growth was assumed. Applying the same assumptions, but disregarding the return from exile of some 45,000 Namibians and the emigration of an un-

known number of people, mainly to South Africa, we arrive at a figure of 1.37 million people in 1991.

3. Approximately 45% of the population is less than 15 years old. The overall adult (15+) population thus is 750,000. We have further assumed that illiteracy among the white population group and among the Rehoboth Basters is negligible, and that illiteracy among the 9% of the population that reside in urban areas and among the coloured group is approximately 40%. These assumptions are based on findings by a recent study by UNICEF and by using information on previous per capital expenditure on education in different population groups. We finally assume that illiteracy among the rural adult population is 80% and among the Bushmen 90%. Using the above assumptions we arrive at a total of 440,000 illiterate adults (or approx. 60% of all adults). It is not likely that all these people will be motivated to want to become literate.

4. However, it is not unreasonable to set as an objective that within a ten year period most adults between 15 and 44 years of age should get the opportunity to learn to read and write in their mother tongue, learn to handle basic calculations and learn to communicate in English, the National language. Around 70% of all adults fall in the above age bracket of 15 to 44 years. This gives a target group of some 310,000 people for a literacy programme during the next ten years.

5. No consideration has been given to the fact that the Universal Primary Education is far from achieved and that thousands of illiterate youngsters enter the target group each year. Though the constitution states that primary education is compulsory it will most likely take some years before the goal of Universal Primary Education is implemented in practice.

6. The above estimates are rather to be characterised as guesstimates. Not until the results of the planned Population Census are available will it be possible to obtain somewhat more reliable information regarding the target group for a literacy programme.

7. However, the Census will most likely use as crude a measure of illiteracy as has been used in this study, i.e. assuming that primary school attendance of four years or less is insufficient for obtaining sustainable literacy skills. Some people become literate without going to school at all, through literacy programmes or other means. Others go to school for a longer time without becoming literate or relapse into illiteracy after some years due to a non-supportive environment.

8. While a national study of illiteracy would be of great help it is felt that the time and effort that would be required for such a study is not warranted at this stage. In order to improve the analysis that will be possible to make using the forthcoming Census it is recommended that a small in-depth study be undertaken in order to provide some knowledge of the extent of literacy among small samples of the population.

9. If each of the 310,000 illiterate persons need three years of tuition to become literate as defined above, this means that 65,000 learning places per year are needed during a period of ten years. This is a massive undertaking, which, if to succeed, needs support from all spheres of society.

Appendix 2:
Literacy work in the past

There have been three strands in the literacy work in Namibia up to the launching of NLPN.

Non-governmental agencies, and principally the churches and the Namibia Literacy Programme, together with some commercial undertaking, took the lead in providing what the former government had failed to do, namely promoting literacy and numeracy classes for out-of-school adults and youths. Most of this work was in mother tongues, thereby excluding English. A quite extensive range of materials was produced.

Later the former Department of National Education entered this field and established work on the commercial farms and in urban adult education centres. One officer was responsible for this programme which in 1990 had 2273 students in 109 farm centres and 16 other venues. Afrikaans, English and arithmetic were the subjects taught.

In 1980, the SWAPO Women's Council decided to make literacy a priority. With support from the London based Namibia Refugee Project, materials and handbooks were developed and in 1986 a start was made in the camps in Zambia and Angola. During the next two years the programme reached 3400 participants. At the advent of Independence the work was continued by the »Continuation of Literacy Work among Returnees«. This has now been merged with the Namibia Literacy Programme.

Thus NLPN is the inheritor of a strong tradition of literacy/numeracy work in Namibia. The scene is now set for tackling illiteracy on a national basis with the aim of assisting the 400,000 illiterate women, men and youths providing them with the skills they need to have. The aim is to achieve this by the year 2000.

Appendix 3:
Notes on gender issues

1. World wide, the number of illiterate women is higher than that of illiterate men. In 1985, the overall illiteracy rate for the world

was 28%, 21% for men and 35% for women, a difference greater in developing countries (21%) than in »developed« countries (1%).

2. In some countries in Southern Africa, amongst them Namibia, boys have traditionally been used for herding tasks, and therefore had not the same opportunity as girls to attend primary school. Though this difference in school attendance between boys and girls is no longer substantial, there is still a higher proportion of girls at primary level.

3. Estimates of illiteracy based on the recent UNICEF study on Household Health and Nutrition in Namibia (1990) indicates a slightly lower overall illiteracy rate among male heads of households (60%) than amongst femals heads of households (65%). The above results need further investigation.

4. The conclusion is that the difference in literacy rates among men and women in Namibia might not be as great as in many other developing countries. Experience from other countries has shown that it often is easier to recruit women into literacy programmes. Men tend to be more shy, not wanting to show that they do not know how to read and write and to be of the opinion that learning is for children not for adults. From this it could be argued that care should be taken in motivating men to join the programme.

5. However, in Namibia, as in many other countries in Africa, there is a high proportion of unmarried mothers, that is, women who are household heads, who have the sole economic and other responsibilities for their children. In the UNICEF study referred to above, the overall percentage of female headed households was 42%. It was higher in the rural areas in the northern part of the country (45%) than in Katutura. Among the female headed households one quarter were involved in wage

earning activities, against half of the male headed households. The head of female headed households was more likely to be engaged in work on the family farm (42%) than her male counterpart (25%). Maybe the most interesting finding is that only 9% of female heads report to be without work whereas the corresponding figure for male heads is 14%. Unfortunately, income levels measured in the study are not reported separately for male and female headed households.

6. In the households interviewed, 84% of all children aged between 5 and 15 years attended school. Attendance was higher among children from female headed households (87%) than among children from male headed Katutura (78%), most likely because of the higher proportion of female headed households in the North.

7. It is expected that the majority of learners and promoters in the literacy programme to be implemented will be women, though the intention is not to establish separate groups for men and women. It should be kept in mind that the Ministry has only limited resources to implement the programme.

8. The Department will operate in close contact with the various women's organisations in the country so as to reach out to women who would not necessarily be reached by the programme. The Department will be prepared to assist the Department of Women's Affairs in training Promoters in women's groups and in supplying them with printed materials free of charge.

9. Some funds have been set aside to be used for scrutinising the literacy materials from a gender perspective. A similar exercise was made some time ago of the Tanzanian literacy material and some preliminary work has been carried out on existing material in Namibia. Thus every publication should be scruti-

nised to ensure that it meets the tenet in the Constitution of encouraging positive discrimination in favour of women.

10. In monitoring and evaluating the literacy programme attention will be given to factors that prevent women from participating. Experiences from elsewhere indicate that lack of time is a major factor. The time of the day when the literacy group meets can decide if women can attend or not and regarding evening classes it is important to consider if the area is adequately lighted to ensure safety. Many males would not allow their wife, mother, sister to attend a literacy class at the time when food is normally served in the house.

11. To observe and take into consideration cultural differences between population groups regarding the status of women is important. The social system in which women operate is not necessarily the same in all areas of the country.

12. Lack of child care is another possible factor. It is recommended that the Department of Women's Affairs together with the government department in charge of pre-schools and créches investigate what support can be given to ad-hoc child care facilities linked to literacy groups. It is possible that the need for child-care facilities turns out to be such a critical factor that this matter demands urgent and thorough discussion.

Appendix 4:
Notes on the literacy environment

1. This document has sought to give substance to a vision of a nation working towards the creation of a literate society. Since English is the one official language, the ultimate aim is to give the greatest number possible the opportunity of so learning the language that it becomes the normal day-to-day channel of

communication. If this aim is to be achieved in measurable time, perhaps over the next decade to the year 2000, it demands that all citizens play their full part. It is a task which cannot be left to government alone. Everyone in the nation can help.

2. The creation of a literate society begins at home. This is why it has been emphasized throughout that what is done in-school for the young and out-of-school for youth and adults must be comprehensible within the family. Only in this way can each help the other. And for those individuals who cannot join groups, there are the one-to-one packs so that learning can take place around the family table.

3. The learning of reading and writing is not sufficient to guarantee continuing literacy. Participants in the literacy programme will need to be made aware of the channels open to them for further learning. This places a heavy responsibility on the Department. First, it will take every means possible of publicising the manifold openings which exist for continuing education. The Department has three Directorates in addition to literacy, concerned with adult education, distance education and skills training. These should be so integrated into the literacy programme that no new literate is suddenly left alone without support. Regional officers therefore should be particularly alert to the need of ensuring that the literacy programme is not a terminal exercise for the majority. And for those learners who wish to progress further up the ladder, the Department will regard it as a priority task of designing and obtaining recognition for an adult curriculum, which is wholly accepted as being of equal status to that used in schools.

4. Continuing education involves many branches of government. As people go up the literacy ladder, bridges will have to be constructed to learning opportunities in agriculture, health care,

co-operatives, basic skills training, income-generating activities, etc. All responsible for such activities are partners in this work.

5. Libraries should be opened which welcome new literates, with shelves of books likely to be of special interest to them. They should be open at convenient hours for adult readers. Primary and Secondary School Heads should consider ways and means of enabling the community as a whole to use their facilities. A library Book Box service is costly, but consideration will be given to pilot experiments to see what is involved. Commercial newspapers could print columns in simple language. Publishers of books for new literates should grade them so that it can be known, at a glance, the standard of language required.

6. Controllers of radio and T.V. have a particular responsibility of helping in this national crusade. Both media could be especially useful for those learning English. Other government extension agencies have broadcasting slots. It is most important that messages being beamed particularly at rural communities should be harmonised each supporting the other. And great care should be taken so that programmes go out at times when adults can listen and when the reception of signals is satisfactory.

7. Community drama, dance and mime are interesting and colourful ways of spreading the literacy message.

8. If adults are to be motivated to struggle with learning English, their efforts deserve encouragement. It does not seem reasonable to expect ordinary people to learn English if, on going to an Education Office, hospital, post office or railway station, they have to converse in Afrikaans or German. All who could be counted in the leadership cadre — civil servants, teachers,

business people, clergy — should be able to use English with confidence. Consideration should be given to enabling those who cannot, to study for a language proficiency test, possibly offering financial rewards for those who pass.

9. Incidental education is also a potent means of learning. A time limit should be set for all public signs and official forms to be primarily in English, and only if essential in a local language.

10. The private sector must also play its part. Employers could actively encourage employees to continue with their education. Many firms are sponsoring learning opportunities, giving their workers time in which to study, making facilities available for classes, showing education videos during breaks and having a notice board with interesting and relevant information on it. Much more could be done and Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Directors need to be chivvied into greater action. A more literate nation will be a more prosperous nation, and that surely means good business. Service organisations could enthuse their members to be actively involved in literacy and continuing education. Even small undertakings can contribute by making reading material available to their workers. Shops could increase their use of English in their windows and on their merchandise. Advertisers could also concentrate on using English.

11. Past differences between government and NGOs should be set aside. All must learn to co-operate with each other, thinking only of the good of those they seek to serve.

12. The time for theoretical speculation is past. There are many people in all parts of the country who wish to learn to read and write. The magic moment could so easily pass, and Namibia be much the poorer. When so many are motivated, now is the time for decisive action.

Community-state relationships in Africa:
Case studies on community education in Africa.
AALAE Journal Vol 6, No 2, 1992.

The journal of the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) is a forum for the dissemination and discussion of theoretical and practical issues and experiences, as well as networking, in adult and formal edudation in Africa and the Third World.

It is published biannually and is available from:
The Editor, AALAE Journal, P.O. Box 50768, Nairobi, Kenya.

The United Nations Conference on Population and Development takes place in Cairo in 1994. In preparation for this conference, the German NGO initiative ONE WORLD presents a paper which discusses the contribution of the North in solving problems connected with population growth and demands a process of rethinking.

Over-population in the South — Over-consumption in the North. Two sides of the coin

Paper of the German NGO-Initiative ONE WORLD on the world population problem

The United Nations Conference on Population and Development takes place in Cairo in 1994. The large increase in world population and its consequences are the principal theme of the conference, yet this theme is only one part of the global problems of humanity. It has to be seen in close relation to the unjust North-South relations, the global environmental crisis, large-scale poverty in the South and world-wide migration.

Responsibility for the high birth rate in the world was, up until now, entirely saddled on the developing countries. Efforts however to check the increase have generally remained unsuccessful mainly because poverty in many countries has not decreased but increased.

ONE WORLD has set itself the task, against the background of the 1994 World Population Conference, of giving clear signals: What we are not allowed to do is to dictate something to the developing countries. The task of the initiative ONE WORLD is primarily to describe our obligations and the contribution of the affluent countries in overcoming the problems connected with population growth.

We do not begin with a catalogue of technical measures but with ethical obligations and the necessity to rethink.

I. Analysis

The German NGO-Initiative ONE WORLD establishes in the context of the world population problem that:

1. The principal problem of our planet is not so much population growth in the South but rather more the earth-destroying lifestyle of the people in the North. This minority uses up too much of the Earth's resources and thereby deprives the majority in the South of its chances of survival.

2. The extravagant energy and resource standards of consumption and production in the North have fundamentally upset the equilibrium of the ecological system, Earth. Yet they serve as a model which the North propagates and exports and which societies in the South and East are increasingly eager to attain. Such world-wide expansion would lead to ecological collapse.

3. Today there are already regions and countries which are unable to feed their population with the available resources. This situation is worsened by a large increase in population. The poorest countries with ecologically impaired regions also record the highest birth rates.

4. Population growth is however not the main cause of large-scale poverty but rather vice-versa: poverty is the principal reason for an increase in population. Population growth on the other hand however does aggravate poverty. The countries in the North through, for example, the unjust international economic order which they have enforced, are to a large extent responsible for both problems. Also responsible are the political leaders in the South who frequently divert the few funds available and use them, for example, for military expenditure. The measures adopted in the last decades to fight poverty have thus not led to a significant improvement in the standard of living.

II. Aims

In this situation the supporting organisations of ONE WORLD state the following aims:

We have to get away from the »cult of possessing« and move towards a culture of sharing. The way of life in the North has to undergo fundamental change so that the South receives a chance to survive and the Earth can be secured as man's habitat.

This means:

1. Drastic reduction in the use of resources in the North. We can no longer uphold our consumer habits and production methods.

2. Intensifying the fight against poverty in the South. This also includes integration of populational measures as part of general economic, environmental, social and development policy, e.g. the appropriation of funds for information on and access to family planning services. Our aim must be to ensure that the poor are no longer forced to safeguard their future social and economic wellbeing with a large number of children but that other strategies for survival and forms of social security are made available to them.

3. Population policy has to harmonise with human rights. This also includes the right of the people in developing countries to determine the number of children and the interval between the children themselves. The willingness of people to voluntarily forego a large number of children depends primarily on better living conditions. Only then can societies in the South also be in a position to consciously opt for responsible parenthood and the norm of the small family.

4. Joint development of a social and ecological model, borne by a majority of nations, cultures and religions in the North and South, which makes survival possible for all. The resulting changes to our way of life have to be accepted by the public as meaningful and worthwhile objectives: We not only help others to survive, but also ourselves.

III. General demands

The supporting organisations of ONE WORLD demand from the 1994 World Population Conference:

1. A **clear statement from the conference** on the close interrelationship between smaller population growth in the South and a reduction in global economic and social imbalance.

2. The approval of population programmes for the South has to be linked to a **binding obligation on the part of the countries of the North**. The North has to commit itself — through e.g. internationally binding agreements — **in the first place** to making a contribution to sustainable global development and thus to solving the world population problem. In this way we are also challenged, above all, to:

   - drastically reduce our use of resources

   - create a better quality of life through an environmentally compatible lifestyle and by consciously restricting consumption

   - intensify the fight against the causes for migration in the South

   - realize a constructive immigration policy

   - restructure international trade, tariff and financial relations to the advantage of the developing countries.

   Concrete steps in the direction of a **culture of sharing** are necessary in all social, political and economic areas.

3. Measures to improve the social, economic and political status of **women** are fundamental to the success of population policy. In particular, access to **primary school education** for girls has to be given priority. Effective measures in **health care** in order to lower infant mortality are necessary. In this way social pressure on the families is lifted as they no longer need to have

as many children as possible as security for the high child mortality rate.

4. **A »No« to isolated, population policy measures** which primarily aim at merely reducing the population on the basis of set targets. More practical aids in family planning alone do not help to fight the causes of population growth. National programmes on contraception and family planning which do not take the conditions of poverty into account — particularly the lack of educational facilities and the underpriviledged position of women — should be rejected.

IV. Catalogue of demands according to target groups

The problem of the overpopulation of countries in the South can, in the long term, only really be solved by their development. A sustainable — particularly ecological — development of the Third World is however not attainable without a global reallocation of world resources in favour of the South. If we realize a culture of sharing, then this would signify a change in values in the Northern industrialised societies which would be nothing short of a revolution. Without this contribution, namely a far-reaching reform of our production methods and consumer habits, the population problem in the South cannot be solved.

The demands compiled here by ONE WORLD comprise the focal points of a strategy of change which is directed at different target groups. The demands indicate development trends — it is an open, inexhaustive catalogue of demands.

A. Consumer and groups

1. Drastic reduction in energy consumption — by at least 30 percent.

2. Less use of the car, more car-sharing.

3. Forego short-distance air travel and holiday air travel.

4. Simpler living standard using less room and energy. »Sharing« space through e.g. smaller or jointly used rooms.

5. Save water, heat fewer rooms, reduce room temperature.

6. Consume less, avoid household rubbish, live more modestly, learn to share. Live more community-oriented so that a culture of sharing can develop in everyday life.

B. Politics

1. Development policy for North and South has to appear on the order of business and in all political areas. We demand **for the affluent countries** more legislation in the area of transport, production and consumption which would bring about a drastic reduction in the consumption of non-renewable energy of at least 30 percent by the year 2000. This includes, above all, a dramatic increase in the price of conventional energy. Energy prices should contain subsequent ecological costs.

2. Increase development funds for promoting renewable, alternative forms of energy, particularly solar energy.

3. Decentralisation of energy production.

4. Environmentally compatible town planning, car-free towns, promotion of public transport and cycling.

5. Granting of asylum to refugees in accordance with international agreements. Well-defined immigration policy and protec-

tion of immigrants and foreign citizens by naturalization (dual nationality).

6. Reduction of energy shortage in **the developing countries** through the availability of renewable, decentralised energy systems which are affordable and accessible for the masses. More cheap energy is urgently needed so that manpower no longer remains the easiest available substitute for the provision of energy.

7. Apart from measures in the area of energy, more integrated education, family planning, women's rights and health programmes should be organised with the active participation of those affected. We demand that present funds here should be doubled; seen together as a whole, these development policy measures make a substantial contribution to curbing population growth and to fighting the causes for migration.

8. Reinstatement of global division of labour and promotion of South-South trade relations, stimulation of national markets. These measures must be anchored in a strategy for restructuring international trade, tariff and financial relations to the advantage of the developing countries and in cooperation with international organisations.

C. Economy

1. Reduction of surplus agricultural production in the industrialised countries.

2. More commitment to avoiding goods and packaging which waste energy and are noxious to the environment. Change to an ecologically sustainable business and market economy policy.

3. Cancellation of debts of the poor, structurally weak developing countries. Higher and just commodity prices which also respect the interest in survival of the South.

D. Media

1. More profile for the topics change in lifestyle, energy consumption and consumer habits in connection with world population issues.

2. Minimise prejudice in the area »Threat through population explosion, mass migration and exodus«.

3. More factual and problem-oriented information on the link between the world population problem and North-South questions, use of resources, lifestyle of the affluent countries and global environmental issues.

4. Concrete examples of alternative forms of action which clearly show that the necessity to change, to secure a better quality of life in North and South, is a worthwhile aim for all.

This statement was passed by the participating organizations of the ONE WORLD initiative in their plenary session of 16 June 1993

List of illustrations

p. 18/40/52/62/76/90/104/116/126/140: Susanne Bieberbach, Bureau de Liaison de la DVV, Madagascar
p. 35: Sylvia Schmuck
p. 119/121: Roland Stein
p. 234/272/286/308: Bettina Strewe, Institute for International Cooperation, DVV, Bonn
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p. 317: Nasira Habib, Khoj Research and Publication Centre, Lahore, Pakistan
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ADULT EDUCATION
AND DEVELOPMENT

is a half-yearly journal for adult education in Africa, Asia and Latin America. At first, in 1973, the journal was intended by the German Adult Education Association (DVV) to help keep in touch with past participants in DVV further training seminars and to support the work of projects abroad. Today, the journal is a forum for dialogue and the exchange of information between adult educators and authors in Africa, Asia and Latin America, both among themselves and with colleagues in the industrialised nations. It is intended to disseminate and discuss new experiences and developments in the theory and practice of adult education. The main target group consists of adult educators working at so-called middle levels in teaching, organization or administration. Increasingly, staff in related fields such as health education, agriculture, vocational training, cooperative organizations etc. have been included, as their tasks are clearly adult education tasks. We also aim at adult educators at higher and top levels, academics, library staff and research institutions both in Africa, Asia and Latin America and in the industrialised nations.

We herewith invite adult educators from all parts of the world to contribute to this journal. Articles should bear a considerable reference to practice. All fields of adult education and development can be treated, i.e. adult education should be regarded in its widest sense. We kindly ask you to send us articles of about 1500 words; footnotes should be used as sparingly as possible.

Responsible for contents are the authors. Signed articles do not always represent the opinion of the German Adult Education Association. You are invited to reproduce and reprint the articles provided acknowledgement is given and a copy is sent to us.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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Editorial

1993 — The year of the indigenous people has almost come to an end. Many meetings, declarations and activities have celebrated this event. The struggle for the rights of the indigenous people, however, will continue. To support this work we are printing here several articles on indigenous people, in their life and learning, from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Australia. We shall continue to provide this support of informing, communicating and exchange. Additionally, as you can see in those articles from Mexico, we shall continue to learn from the work of the indigenous peoples and their institutions in the field of adult education cooperation.

A second major theme in this issue is community participation in the context of development. Professor Ki-Zerbo provides orientation in posing questions as to what kind of development and where are we going to? Most of the other articles are related to grassroots and village experiences in the participation of people in their community development. Some look at rural and others at urban development, the work in slum areas, and aspects of human rights and justice are brought forward as having a strong influence on the daily life of the people.

Finally, we concentrate on adult education and training. Dr. Paul Bélanger from the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg wonders whether the provision of adult education and the demands of society, technology and the people are in balance. We realize that the political, economic and social changes currently taking place everywhere in the world are demanding more and better adult education provision. The providers have to ask themselves whether they are ready to enlarge and improve their work in spite of the financial crisis affecting budgets of almost all adult education institutions. There is no doubt that improvement of our provision has much to do with better trained people. Therefore we continue to discuss different approaches and practices in the education and training of our adult educators. Learning has no end — this seems to be an even more important point of reflection for colleagues working in adult education in the different fields of organisation, administration, management, teaching and research. Quality improvement is the other side of the coin of getting ready to provide and market our resources and services to more and more people.

Heribert Hinzen

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Indigenous education and the prevalent denial of special provisions in form and content of education for indigenous populations are currently widely discussed. Witness the present edition of our review which you hold in your hands.

Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to introduce the following series of articles with a quotation of the famous North American scientist, diplomat, politician and writer Benjamin Franklin from the year 1784 that shows that the topic is by no means a new one, nor are adequate answers and proposals.

Benjamin Franklin

Remarks concerning the savages of North America

»At the treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, anno 1744, between the Government of Virginia and the Six Nations, the commissioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a speech, that there was at Williamsburg a college with a fund for educating Indian youth; and that if the chiefs of the Six Nations would send down half a dozen of their sons to that college, the government would take care that they be well provided for, and instructed in all the learning of the white people.

The Indians' spokesman replied:

We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal and we thank you heartily.

But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it; several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, nor kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counsellors; they were totally good for nothing.

We are however not the less obligated by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it, and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.«

Indigenous rights and values are slowly receiving public recognition, at least in the rhetoric of national policies. However, very little of this has as yet become apparent in the organization of educational systems in Latin America and elsewhere. The following is an example of the laborious process required if the proclaimed policies are to be put into effect.

Luís Donisete Benzi Grupioni /
Mariana Kawall Leal Ferreira

What is a true indigenous school? Indigenous societies of Brazil and their schools

The indigenous societies in Brazil

For the indigenous nations of America the arrival of the Europeans in the New World meant the advent of various processes of domination, exploitation, war, slavery and extermination. Many indigenous societies succumbed to the coercion and determination of the conquistadors, while others succeeded in finding forms of coexistence and survival within the respective national states that arose on their territories.

The contemporary indigenous population in Brazil is roughly estimated at 250,000 individuals distributed among nearly 200 different ethnic groups that inhabit diverse ecological areas and speak more than 170 languages. They are what is left of a great population that numbered an estimated 5,000,000 individuals in 1500 when the Portuguese arrived in Brazil.

There is extreme diversity among the indigenous societies of Brazil: they have experienced different histories and possess their own unique cultural traditions. These societies of the South American lowlands are characterized by the absence of State. They consist of small demographic groups whose basic survival depends on hunting, fishing, the collection of natural products and subsistence farming.

Another factor explaining the diversity of these indigenous societies is the difference in the extent of contact they have experienced with segments of Brazilian society. A certain number of indigenous groups have maintained contact with the white population for more than 300 years, but there are still some groups in the Amazon regions that have never had any contact whatever.

Whereas in some countries on the American continent indigenous peoples constitute the major part of the population, in Brazil today they represent a mere 0.01% of the total population. Although the group is small, it has registered a steady rise in numbers over the past years.

The indigenous groups have realized that despite their cultural differences, they share a common history of exploitation and violation of their more elementary rights. Since they have become aware of the possibility of building a common indigenous identity, those groups have organized themselves and have become more active on Brazil's national political scene.

The traditionally oral societies and written language

A common characteristic of the indigenous societies of Brazil is the oral transmission of knowledge. Such societies possess traditional processes of socialization and learning through which the cultural heritage of the group is reproduced and transmitted from generation to generation. Accordingly, education for these societies consists in how the members of a certain group socialize the next generations, moulding them according to their visions of human nature and perpetuating those visions through their descendants.

This cultural heritage is transmitted orally by means of language that employs combinations of sounds to communicate certain meanings, functioning at the same time as a code and convention. Still, it is not possible to reduce such communication to the mere concept of orality, considering that the economic, social, political and religious practices of these indigenous societies develop other systems of communication transcending the use of the word.

In this way the transmission of knowledge in the traditionally oral societies is incorporated within a broader process and in this sense the traditional socialization practices in effect constitute **educational practices**.

Accordingly, indigenous education is a global process, every aspect of which is inherent in all that is characteristic of the indigenous groups of Brazil. Those aspects focus on the processes and conditions for the transmission of culture, the nature of the knowledge transmitted and the functions of the education in the societal order of each community (Fernandes, 1964: 17).

School education

Strictly indigenous education, which consists of the different traditional processes of socialization peculiar to each indigenous nation, stands in contradiction to formal school education, a notion introduced by white men in certain situations of interethnic contact.

In general it is precisely through the process of formal schooling that written language is disseminated among indigenous societies. In the great majority of cases, school is accordingly responsible for the spread in agraphic societies of the written word with its rules and techniques. Various authors have already elaborated on the impact of written language on traditionally oral societies (Goody and Oxenham inter alia), but it is important to emphasize that schooling involves much more than just reading and writing.

The desire to educate the »indio« according to our educational patterns became more defined when the desire to submit him to the process of »civilization« was converted into the central element of the dominant ideology in the Portuguese colonies (cf. Fernandes, 1975: 25). The Jesuits, the first agents of colonization, concentrated their efforts on destroying the influence of the elders by imposing a certain type of school that at the same time was an instrument of colonization and the negation of indigenous culture.

The Indian Protection Service (»Servicio de Protección de los Indios« SPI), a federal agency established in 1910 to support the indigenous peoples, and its successor organized in 1967, the National Indian Foundation, (»Fundación Nacional del Indio« FUNAI), did not mean the elaboration of a national policy on indigenous education nor the creation of a school valuing indigenous cultures.

Indigenous rights and the new Brazilian constitution

When Brazil's National Congress ratified the country's new constitution on October 5, 1988, new rights were established for indigenous people.

The most important consequence of the constitution, one that broke with a tradition of Brazilian legislation, was the abandonment of the integrationist policy that persistently strove to assimilate the indigenous people within the »national community«, viewing them as a transitory ethnic and social category condemned to disappearance. The new text guarantees indigenous people the right to be different by recognizing their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions. It acknowledges the original rights of the indigenous people to the lands they occupy based on the historical fact of their presence on that land prior to the formation of the Brazilian State, and it guarantees them the exclusive use of the natural resources existing within their territories. The National Congress has taken up a new stance on indigenous policy, terminating the monopoly formerly exercized by the government's executive organs. The new text ensures the indigenous peoples, their communities and organizations the legal power to decide on matters concerning their own rights and interests, and appoints the Ministry of Public Affairs to accompany legal procedures involving indigenous rights and interests, acting in their defense. All such proceedings are under exclusive jurisdiction of the federal judiciary system.

Article 210 of Chapter III, which regulates »Education, Culture and Sport«, provides that »primary education shall be administered in the Portuguese language, and indigenous communities shall moreover be guaranteed the right to use their maternal languages and employ their own particular educational processes«. Accordingly, it is the State's constitutional obligation to ensure and fortify indigenous education, principally as concerns formal school education.

Indigenous school education never constituted a priority of those services. As yet, no effective program has been developed by the Federal Government for the protection of the indigenous population.

The Brazilian government has been exempting itself of its responsibilities towards the indigenous nations by signing contracts with religious missionaries (Catholic and Protestant) as well as a large number of other propagators of the faith, permitting them to conduct activities in indigenous areas throughout the country mainly in the sectors of formal education, medical assistance and economic development. It is the main object of some of these religious groups to translate the Bible into indigenous languages in order to bring the »Word of God« to peoples who »need salvation« (cf. Monserrat, 1989: 246-247). Formal schooling thus provides those missionaries with an important instrument of proselytism.

In this context, the schools run by the State in indigenous territories (through FUNAI and departments of education) or by the religious missionaries never honoured the right of those societies to have an educational system distinctly designed to respect their sociocultural traditions. The inadequate content of the curricula, the imposition of values and customs alien to the groups, the lack of relevant didactic material, the inferior training levels of the teachers, the inconsistency between the school calendar and the rhythm of indigenous life, the obligatory use of Portuguese, the negation of the values and cultural practices of those groups — all these factors have meant that formal education as provided by such schools does not comply with indigenous aspirations in that connection.

The new Brazilian Constitution adopted in 1988 represented the consolidation of a series of important and fundamental rights guaranteeing the survival of the Indigenous Nations of Brazil. Among other things, it ensured them the use of their own languages and teaching processes, making the State responsible for the protection of the manifestations of the indigenous cultures.

Although in Brazil there is a great gulf between established legislation and what occurs in practice, it is possible under the constitution to keep school from being used as an instrument to impose the cultural values of the dominant society, and to ensure that it becomes a means for the people to value their own indigenous cultures and to comprehend the broader and more complex reality that includes them since their contact with the white race.

The indigenous movement and the non-governmental organizations that assist the indigenous people and that actively participated in the entire constitutional process, submitting proposals and claiming rights, are now dedicated to the task of fulfilling those new rights.

Non-government organizations

The encounters on indigenous education taking place in Brazil since the end of the 1970s that have been promoted by non-governmental organizations acting in defense of indigenous interests, have led to concrete proposals on ways of thinking about and dealing with the question of formal education for the indigenous peoples of Brazil.

The greater part of those organizations emerged in the midst of reaction against the military government's »false emancipation« project directed at the indigenous peoples in 1979. It was a time of political openness in Brazil, when various civil movements were being organized to address questions such as human rights, political amnesty and trade unions.

When the process was initiated at the end of the 70s, the civil organizations assisting the indigenous people brought together a heterogeneous group of professionals who acted in diverse sectors. By the end of the 80s those organizations had specialized and become more professional. They became active in providing health services, elaborating economic projects, offering legal assistance and developing projects of formal education.

Within that framework, various »alternative« educational projects situated in different regions of Brazil have been elaborated by such entities with the regular participation of the affected indigenous communities.

From the experience of practice, such organizations have been formulating proposals on formal education for the indigenous population. Those proposals basically focus on the specialized training of indigenous teachers, the development of curricula, programs and evaluation processes for flexible learning, as well as academic calendars coinciding with the rhythm of local life, and the systematic publication, both in native languages and Portuguese, of didactic materials containing scientific and cultural information relevant to the respective group and seeking to revitalize and preserve the body of traditional knowledge belonging to the indigenous groups with deference to the cognitive development of the learners, as well as the traditional teaching and learning processes of every single people (cf. Documento Bonde, 1989).

The organized indigenous movement

The organized indigenous movement of Brazil has been playing an active role on the national political arena. Its claims in respect of indigenous education not only embrace the aforementioned points, but also an aspect fundamental to the treatment of this question:

Conference of Indigenous Teachers

The »Second Conference of Indigenous Teachers from Amazonas and Roraima« was held in the city of Manaus (in the State of Amazonas) from the 11th to the 14th of July, 1989. It was attended by 24 teachers and 12 indigenous organizations from the Amazon region representing 73 indigenous peoples of Brazil. At the conclusion of the conference, the Indians elaborated a document that was sent to the senators and federal congressmen to serve as a basis for the new »Statute on the Guidelines and Foundations of National Education« that is currently being deliberated before the National Congress. The main points of that document are printed below:

- »The schools we require must relate to the culture of each people respecting the customs, traditions, languages and beliefs of the indigenous nations.
- Indigenous organizations and leaders should participate in decisions related to schools.
- Schools must be critical and transforming in defense of our rights. It is important that indigenous schools be recognized at the federal level.
- Teachers of indigenous schools should be indigenous. All teachers should have the right to provide bilingual instruction. (...)
- Didactic material should be bilingual. The State must guarantee the funds required to elaborate such material.
- The curricula of the schools should be elaborated together with the indigenous communities, organizations and leaders who can rely on the assistance of public or non-governmental agencies at the discretion of the indigenous peoples.
- The academic calendar must respect the life style of each indigenous nation.
- The State is obliged to provide the funds necessary to create and maintain our schools, to contract and pay teachers, supervisors, academic coordinaters and other school related personnel. Moreover, the State is obliged to provide the funds necessary to conduct investigations in support of indigenous education.

that the indigenous communities be the authors and administrators of their own processes of formal education.

In other words it is the task of the indigenous communities themselves to formulate and implement the integrated teaching and evaluation programs defined in accordance with their demands. The indigenous organizations are now demanding the Brazilian authorities to guarantee the development of such programs under the national education system by fulfilling their claim for bilingual formal education for indigenous communities, and by treating their unique sociocultural characteristics with due regard and respect.

Today there are indigenous organizations that promote regional conferences on formal education throughout the country. Indigenous educators from the States of Amazonas, Roraima and Acre (in the northern section of Brazil), for example, have been organizing annual assemblies since 1988, to discuss common problems involved in the administration of their own schools.

Another significant indigenous initiative relating to formal education, this time at the university level, is being conducted by the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI), an organization that has brought together diverse indigenous communities in Brazil in the elaboration of a »Special Program of Training and Support for Research of Indigenous Communities«. The program in question aims to promote integration between scientific knowledge proceeding from universities or specialized research centers, and traditional indigenous practices of environmental management. This program entails the establishment of an indigenous research center for the development of »pilot projects« in a number of indigenous territories, and relies on the support of the Catholic University of Goiás. Since 1989, ten indigenous scholars have been studying law and biology at that university.

Indigenous schools

»We, the Juruna People, need schooling, to comprehend the life of the white man, the way he lives, his laws. If we do not acquaint ourselves with the life of the white man, he will deceive us. But the indio is intelligent. He can think as well as the white man. For that reason we want to learn more about everything. For that reason we need school taught by Juruna teachers. But we need help (...) to assist us in creating a school for the indio, in making books for the indio, in training teachers. Then we will be able to make improvements for ourselves.« (Carandine Juruna — Chief of the Aldea Tuba-Tuba of the Juruna Nation, Indigenous Reserve of Xingu, 28. 02. 1990).

The rights secured recently by the indigenous communities under the new constitution are proof that the indigenous movement has become an important social lever. Academic investigations enumerating their contemporary demands are a contribution of the scientific community aiding that cause. Those investigations must serve as the common patrimony of indigenous populations.

In reference to formal education, careful reflection must be given to the unique processes of socialization of the indigenous communities insofar as concerns their educational practices since these can serve to undergird specific pedagogical activities. In order for formal education to be based on indigenous educational practices, it will be necessary to compile information on the traditional processes of socialization. That will involve the systematic study of the processes and conditions under which the indigenous cultural heritage is transmitted.

Only from the moment indigenous schools are built on the basis of their own cultures will they become truly indigenous, that is to say under the management and administration of the communities they serve.

This is the main claim of the indigenous groups of Brazil insofar as concerns formal education, and the goal that we must support by taking concrete action in that direction.

Documents

1989 — De Educação Indígena — Bonde

1989 — Propostas dos Professores Indígenas do Amazonas e Roraíma sobre Educação Indígena — Manaus (11 a 14 de julho)

1989 — Primero Encontro Estadual de Educação Indígena — Mato Grosso (7 a 11 maio)

1993 was declared by the UN as the »International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples« (IYWIP). Barrie Brennan sees his comments on this subject as an impulse to encourage discussion on indigenous learning, the link between culture, language and learning. The manuscript was first printed in a Report of the ASPBAE Sub-Region 4 Conference on Literacy, Apia, Western Samoa, 19th - 23rd of April, 1993. Barrie Brennan is a member of the staff of the Department of Administrative, Higher and Adult Education Studies, University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales, Australia.

Barrie Brennan

Literacy, language and the International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples

In 1993 the International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples (IYWIP), it is expected by the UN, the sponsors of the year, that action will take place by, and on behalf of, the world's indigenous peoples. In relation to the question of literacy, an area in which action may be expected to take place, there are a number of key problems that need to be examined if successful action, in terms of indigenous people and their cultures, is to be taken in 1993.

Which language?

One of the ongoing issues for those concerned with literacy in nations with many cultures, including those of indigenous peoples, is to know in which language literacy instruction should be provided. Should it be that of a major international language, that of an earlier coloniser, such as English or French? Is there a »local« perhaps the language of the majority of people or those wielding the greatest political or economic power, that has been »adopted« as a national language? Or should literacy instruction be focused on numerous regional and local dialects and languages?

The discussion on this issue, as summarised in UNESCO publications, suggests that questions of a political nature, such as national unity and nationhood, modernisation and development, are central to the motives of those favouring either a »foreign« language or a selected national language.

On the other hand, there are those who strongly support the adoption of the *mother tongue* for the literacy programs of the cultural groups within a multi-cultural society. In a double-number of CONVERGENCE (XX, 3 - 4, 1987), there was strong support for the primary focus on the mother tongue.

The choice, however, is not a simple one. There will be languages in some cultures that are not written, but function at the level of oral communication only. What is the significance of literacy in these language communities? If primacy is given to literacy, then those means of communication that are limited to oral communication may be seen as inferior or second-rate or old-fashioned and lose some of their cultural significance, with potential danger to the culture itself.

The role of language in a culture is central but the particular functions of a spoken language may vary. If social relationships and social behaviour are conveyed through the spoken word, how are these relationships and codes of behaviour translated into the printed word? What is lost socially by having the language written? May there be some value in retaining the language in an oral mode so as not to lose the social role of the language, or is there status in being recorded?

In contrast, there are those who claim that »the people« see the acquisition of the language of controlling groups within a society, or even that of a former foreign coloniser, as being a means to achieve their aspirations for progress and development? Whether such aspirations are real, or faulted, who is to say that they should be denied? Is not a form of cultural hegemony thus maintained?

There are also conflicting messages from the literature on multilingual households. How can the results from one style of society be transferred to another? When the role of language differs from social group to social group, how can the results from one social group in a particular location be expected to be similar in differing circumstances?

The question of what language should be the one for literacy instruction, particularly in discussions of indigenous peoples — whether they be a tiny minority or the majority in a society — is not necessarily a simple question.

In seeking to find a solution, however, what seems to be a very important question is the role of the language — oral or written — in a culture, and particularly in relation to culture and education.

IYWIP

In the documentation from the UN on IYWIP, one of the seven issues noted is *culture, language and education*. The three are linked together and are associated with the »right of indigenous people to maintain and develop distinct cultural identities«. The problem is that many projects that have been directed towards indigenous people in the past have, whether as part of a specific objective or incidentally, tended to reduce the people's cultural identity and move them towards membership of a homogeneous, or some would say homogenised, world culture.

The link between culture, language and education must be understood if IYWIP projects are not to further the erosion of indigenous cultures. While Westerners, as explorers, residents, historians or scientists, have studied indigenous cultures, they have tended to look at them from the perspective of their own culture. That is to be expected, but not necessarily excused.

While they have seen an indigenous culture, and perhaps even helped those in the culture itself to do so, as composed of structures, artefacts and values, they have tended to fail to see the role of language and education in the process of transmitting and changing the culture. For them, language did not have such a role: schools and formal education performed the transmission role. They failed to see that language and non-formal (or sometimes formal) but certainly indigenous teaching and learning processes were involved in cultural transmission.

What was not observed, and still is not noted, is how language and individual and group processes, using language, provide for the transmission of the culture, not only as far as vocational activities such as fishing or boatbuilding are concerned but also the care of children and the rites and roles of children and adults, and men and women.

An objective in IYWIP

Though not spelled out in the print material from the UN at this time, it is suggested that before any questions about literacy education or the choice of the language for literacy are even asked (and certainly not answered), the role of language in the indigenous culture must be understood.

Further it is suggested that any examination of the role of language will also reveal (if those looking are willing to observe closely) a good deal about how the indigenous teaching/learning system works. In the working of the system, the roles of the so-called teachers should be noted. Also to be observed are the processes that are culturally sanctioned, and those considered inappropriate. Is exploration and practice favoured, or is the process one of demonstration by the expert?

What use is made of song, or story, in the development of attitudes? Are heroes in these stories used in the cultural transmission process to provide a basis for socially acceptable behaviour, behaviour that both the young and old can model in their own lives? What is the use of singing and chanting in these cultural transmission processes? Is the constant repetition of these songs part of the total cultural transmission process by which the individual internalises the values associated with either models to be copied, or avoided? Is the process involved not so much »being told« but telling oneself, over and over again until the behaviour becomes a natural part of one's self.

The sort of approach being suggested here has been reported elsewhere, and particularly in COURIER, Number 55 in relation to education as an appropriate technology. An integral part of the decision about the *why* and the *how* of literacy education as part of changes in a culture, or as part of the IYWIP program, is an engagement with the indigenous culture.

It is not suggested that such an engagement should be left to some foreign educational experts or anthropologists. They will not necessarily understand. Nor will members of the culture who may have become culturally insensitised to their own culture and socialised totally in the culture of the west or the dominant culture of the society or nation. The process of self-discovery for those actually participating in an indigenous culture may be one of the major outcomes of the IYWIP.

One of the most important outcomes may be the re-discovery of the indigenous educational processes, both formal and informal, that have been developed to transmit the culture. If these are identified and their purposes understood, then the process of education as a whole may be freed from domination of what may be inappropriate methods and strategies, and made more sympathetic to the whole of the indigenous culture.

Further, if the role of language in the cultural transmission process is also determined, then the question of the need for literacy in that cultural context may be clarified. If there appears to be a need for literacy in the culture of the group, particularly an indigenous group, then the decision to teach literacy is based on sounder cultural foundations. Also created is the possibility that the teaching/learning of the written language will also be in tune with the cultural role of language and the processes that the culture has adopted over the years as part of its »educational profile«.

Final comment

One of the problems with designated »years« is that after the designated year there is a fall off of concern for the area that has received attention during its special year. There are those who would claim that with the disabled or the homeless, the continuation of concern beyond the designated year has been at a very minimal level. Therefore, in conjunction with IYWIP, it is tremendously important not only that the projects that are set up are appropriate to the needs of the peoples of the indigenous cultures but also that the processes developed are sympathetic to those cultures and provide the basis for continuing activity and programs. In the area of literacy, then, appropriate strategies are required to determine whether there is a need for literacy, in which language, what will be the effects of a written language on the culture, and, if literacy in a written language is agreed upon, what methods will be used to develop literacy among the members of the culture.

If the above is achieved, the impact of IYWIP will not be restricted to 1993. Further, the benefits of 1993 to these indigenous cultures from the work of 1993 will be remembered with cultural satisfaction in decades to come.

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Asian Action

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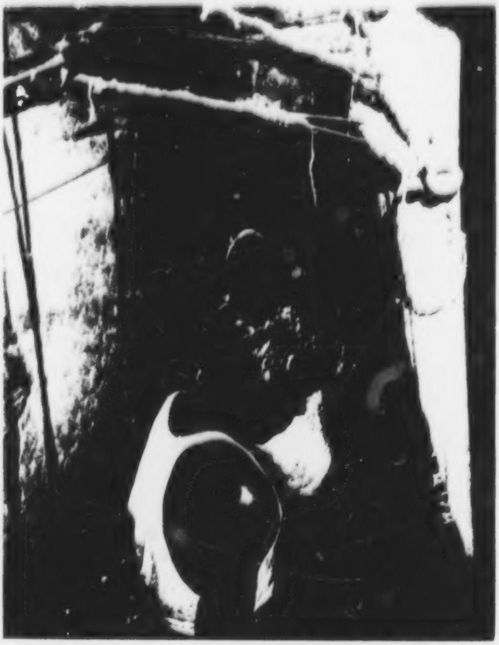

Child Labour in the Carpet Industry

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE INTERNATIONAL YEAR 1993

Indigenous People

INTERNATIONAL YEAR 1993

The last issue of this journal included several articles on environmental learning. This is on the one hand a follow-up, and on the other hand it bridges forms and contents of environmental and indigenous education. The reader may want to refer back to number 35 of the journal which featured several articles on the concept of indigenous and traditional learning. Gerald Akatsa Okello is Head of the Department of Educational Foundations at the Maseno University College in Kenya.

Gerald Akatsa Okello

The conceptual and practical environmental orientations of African indigenous education

Introduction

The environment can be seen as a whole being or synergetic sum of many components in a dynamic interaction. The total environmental continuum surrounding any human event or action can be seen as an aggregate of several component environments;

namely the physical, psychological, perceptual, communication, economic, social and cultural environments. Each of these environments in turn is a space-time phenomenon, which is the condition, site and framework in which all reality is conceived. It is in this vein that an attempt will be made to discern the conceptual and practical environmental orientations of the African indigenous educational (AIE) system.

AIE and environmental objetives

One of the aims of AIE was to ensure that the learners acquired knowledge about the historical background of their society in a dynamic dimension that covered their origin, migration, settlement, political organization, productive activities, conflicts and challenges which were both human and spatial.

AIE and environmental based methods

Home-centred methods included imitation, simulation, early responsibility and listening by the learners within the homestead.

Community-centred methods consisted of peer group learning, plays, organized games, recreational and amusement activities and fireside learning by members of the lineage or clan in specific sites that belonged to the society.

Institutional-centred methods took place within the context of initiation ceremonies, apprenticeships, secret societies or societies of equals in secluded sites. The common emphasis of these three methods was to establish harmony in the learner with himself, others and the environment.

Environmental philosophy of AIE

The traditional philosophy of education covered and dealt with ordinary life experiences and rendered them more significant and fruitful through pragmatic approaches.

In pursuance of the philosophy of holism, AIE was broad in scope and discouraged early specialization in narrow skill competencies. The doctrine of multiple learning encouraged that one learning activity become a spring board for launching a variety of educational experiences covering the epistemological, technical, agricultural, historical, biological, religious, military, medical, ethical and environmental concerns. Through the integrated learning approach, an individual, in learning about a concrete skill or operation, acquired a great deal from other domains of knowledge wthin the local setting. For instance a learner who was being sensitized about shifting cultivation ended up acquiring knowledge about the geographical terrain of neighbouring regions, soil texture, cyclic climatic conditions, intercropping, the use of farm yard manure, water supply resources, wild life and pest management among others.

Environmental based pedagogical aspects of AIE

Pedagogy is an elaborate, explicit, coherent and systematic way of thinking about education and also an artistic and scientific way of teaching. Much of the community-based education which the child received was concerned with mastering an ensemble of prescriptive behavioural codes which provided guidelines for managing most of life's contingencies. The pedagogical aspects with an environmental base comprised the following:

- The Communication Environment: Knowledge in AIE was transmitted principally by oral precepts reflecting a general volarization of spoken language which was an important medium of communication and a reservoir of tradition and culture. In day to day conversations, idioms and proverbs were considered as the »spiced vegetables« with which people »ate words«. The communication environment through oral transmission played a central role in unifying the social and physical processes of building homesteads, promoting clan growth and development through dialogue and decision making. The spoken word acted as a cohesive force in the traditional neigbourhood which brought people together as an organized productive workforce in a mood of social celebration.

- The Socio-cultural Environmental based Pedagogy: Culture was understood in the traditional sense as a philosophy lived and celebrated in its totality in the life of the community. There was a uniform general concept of the use of space by the family, lineage, clan and tribe. In each tribal locality, there was variation on the social themes of division of labour, the use of space within and outside the homestead, the preservation of social norms and the protection of the environment from both beasts and invaders alike. So consistent was the cultural transmission done through AIE's socialization that communities would attain intergenerational communication of values, beliefs, practices, traditions, laws, customs and a host of other aspects which made up the sum of traditional life.

- Environmentally linked initiation pedagogy: Rites of passage were seen as important pedagogical processes occuring during different stages of development. They were the apex of traditional education and served as unique moments when society explicitly fostered in the rising generation a long and exacting instructional scheme or programme. These rites were often marked by what the Poro society of Liberia in West Africa termed »Devils Marks« where the neophyte or newly initiated underwent scarification and cicatrisation in the form of removal of the prepuce, clitoris or teeth, the cutting of ear lobes, or tatooing various parts of the body. Through the blood they shed, they were put into contact with the invisible ancestral world with the living dead buried under the earth and were empowered to act on hidden powers. Through the emotional intensity which the initiation pedagogy produced, the pomp and ceremony which characterised it, the collective name acquired by members of the age-set, the fusion of law, medicine, religion and magic in the whole drama; the rite of passage sought a total subjection of the tribal tradition, a kind of standardization and moderation of individual behaviour to a common cultural denomination within a specific ethnic habitat.

- The physical environmentalist centred pedagogy: AIE emphasised an awareness by the children of their surroundings pertaining to the social, political, economic, historical and religious aspects of tribal life. The child grew up with deliberate instruction and training from the environment. Teaching and learning activities were organized within the natural environment which served as the »open school« with bountiful raw materials that acted as instructional media. This not only served as a basis for a broad educational theory but also bridged the gap between traditional policy and practice in the context of a comprehensive resource supply. The physical environment was seen as one that included man in his biomechanical aspects, nature as the ecological environment and a limited application of technology on the physical systems. African indigenous education therefore fulfilled the major function of education for the development of the individual, the community and his surroundings.

Conclusion

The traditional system of African education is shown in this chapter to have possessed a multifaceted character that was holistic, utilitarian, community-centred, functional in approach and environmentally conscious. This springs from the issue that ecological factors influence human behaviour and social institutions including the educational ones — since cultures have a symbiotic affinity with their environments, African culture was no exception to the rule.

1993 is the year of indigenous peoples. Many propose that the year should be extended to a decade. This might be more appropriate, especially since the history of repression of indigenous cultures and values is far from over. The natural right to learn to read and write in one's own mother tongue, example given, is by no means natural for most indigenous peoples. In ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT we want to give room to practical experiences in the field of indigenous education.
Vicente Marcial Cerqueda, Director of the House of Culture (Lidxi Guendabiaani') of the Zapotec city of Juchitán on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Southern Mexico, himself a Zapotec, describes what it takes to develop a literacy program in a language that is still spoken by many and lends itself to song and poetry but lacks a unified written standard.

Vicente Marcial Cerqueda
Lidxi Guendabiaani'

Literacy work and cultural dialogue. Zapotec people on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and a project of ethnic resistance

Introduction

The ideas I intend to present below proceed from a study entitled »A Pedagogical Model for Cultural Dialogue and Promotion of Literacy«, a team project in which I participated together with Enedino

Jimenez, Juan José Rendón, Macario Matus and Bertha de Gives in 1985. The important contributions that you will find in my presentation are accordingly a collective product. I assume personal responsibility for any errors in the following pages.

Background

From August 31 to September 1, 1985, a working session was held at the *Casa de la Cultura* (House of Culture) in Juchitán towards the goal of harmonizing the different variations of the written Zapotec language on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec into a standardized version, and for promoting its use among the Zapotec people there. The meeting was convened by the *Casa de la Cultura* and the Institute for Anthropological Studies at the National University of Mexico.

Fifteen persons attended the reunion, including representatives from URO — the Oaxacan regional office of the Organization for Popular Cultures *(Dirección de Culturas Populares)*, the National Institute for Adult Education INEA, the National University of Mexico, and the *Casa de la Cultura* of Juchitán.

A summary of the results of the topics discussed at the meeting was published in Issue No. 25 of the periodical *Guchachi' Reza*. The meeting had as its agenda:

1. to review pre-alphabet forms of writing;

2. to analyze known alphabets;

3. to take stock of the written Zapotec language and its repercussions to date;

4. to discuss the need for a practical Zapotec grammar;

5. to elaborate material for practicing reading and writing in the Zapotec language (vocabulary, teaching methods and compilation of texts...);

6. to discuss the importance of recovering lost expressions and the creation of new words for new concepts.

Following a presentation by Víctor de la Cruz, in which he examined some materials taken from the periodical *neza*, and a further presentation by Juan José Rendón and myself in which we took a comparative look at the various proposals for the Zapotec alphabet from 1935 until 1980, it was concluded under points 1 and 2 that although the prevailing alphabet was not perfect, not being the alphabet of any particular language but rather a mixture of the Spanish and English alphabets, the people would be able to mold it to suit their needs once they took to using it as their own (*Guchachi' Reza* No. 25, p. 32).

In the balance taken of the written Zapotec language and its repercussions, it was recognized that a literary tradition does exist among the Zapotec people on the isthmus; that it is based on the alphabet proposed by the Round Table held in the city of Mexico in 1956; and that it should be used by the various persons and institutions in attendance for any efforts to promote the written language.

Regarding points 4 and 6, the need was recognized to continue research and make use of various studies already existing on the topics in question.

In connection with point 5, proposals were discussed for the generalization of the written Zapotec language, including, in particular, a project to promote literacy in the Zapotec language proposed by the National Institute for Adult Education. Two important recommendations issued from the meeting.

Firstly, for such a project to be effective, the selection of generative words cannot be left solely to desk work. It must primarily evolve from a process of consultation with the potential literacy learners, and hence requires a period of field work. (op. cit. p. 32)

Secondly, in the creation of new words, the linguistic components must not be the chief concern. It is also imperative that those words express human survival requirements which spring from the philosophic vision of the world reflected in the culture of the people concerned. (ibid. p. 32).

Other meetings were held to deal with the promotion of reading and writing in the Zapotec language. The interests and objectives of the Institute for Adult Education did not coincide with the above recommendations. Possibilities for various members of the *Casa de la Cultura* to participate in the project also became more remote.

An interdisciplinary committee was formed comprising representatives of the *Casa de la Cultura* and the Institute of Anthropological Research of the University of Mexico for the purpose of designing a literacy program in line with the stated principles, a project that would correspond as closely as possible to the community's needs for knowledge and expression. The members of the committee included: Prof. Enedino Jiménez, who possesses more than ten years of experience in teaching besides being an expert in writing in the Zapotec language; Macario Matus, a professor with deep knowledge of the Zapotec language, who at the time was director of the *Casa de la Culture*; Bertha de Gyves, a psychologist; Juan José Rendón Monzón, professor and linguist who spent more than ten years studying the Zapotec language and culture; and myself.

After several intense working sessions, we succeeded in proposing a model for a literacy program that, besides teaching people how to read and write, would also serve to initiate a dialogue relating to important aspects of our culture with the aim of defending and developing it through discussion and critical action.

The pedagogical model for cultural dialogue and promotion of literacy in the Zapotec language

Basic premises

The basic premises underlying our proposal to foster literacy in our language are the following:

The first is the recognition that our past dates back thousands of years. It is estimated that our culture began to acquire its characteristic features some three thousand years ago. Our ancestors developed important scientific and artistic advances. Their knowledge of astronomy allowed them to establish an agricultural calendar long before the dawn of the Christian Era. They possessed agricultural techniques to cultivate the soil in complete respect of its so vital resources. Indications exist of important developments in a system of writing. Archaeological remains on display in the ruins at Monte Albán, Mitla, Yagul, Lambityeco, Dainzu, Zachila, Yajila, Huijazoo, Guie Ngola and other sites disclose some of the achievements of our ancestors.

Despite the passage of centuries, the Zapotec language continues to be spoken in contemporary versions. Traditions connected with farming the »*milpa*«, the so-called maize or corn field, still exist. In village life, the people preserve the traditions governing collective communal organization and maintain many artistic styles in their clothing, artefacts, meals etc. The fact that such a great store of history has been conserved obliges us to respect and defend it.

The second is our awareness that resistance in the manner of our ancestors is important. So many years of exploitation and subjugation have been suffered by those who preserved our culture by tradition: the farmers and craftsmen of our people. They continue to cultivate their traditional plots, and to work together for their common good in the sense of the *guendalisaa* or *tequio*.

Our ancestors had created a state of princes and priests that employed the work of many laborers and craftsmen to construct a glorious empire and culture. The arrival of the army of Spanish adventurers meant the destruction of many of the accomplishments they had achieved. Nevertheless, the people continue to live and to be faithful to their traditions.

Our resistance to maintain the most important values of our identity has faced violent forms of imposition. Still, our people frequently assumed a peaceful approach, availing themselves to the extent of their possibilities of favorable conditions to pursue their objectives of survival. Through family and social bonds adapted to historical conditions, we continue to hold on to our language, to follow our traditions and to maintain the cooperation and solidarity that characterize our people. We continue to sustain our demand for respect of our sovereign right to determine the way we live, and to defend our lands, forests and natural resources.

Today there are more powerful forms of economic, political and cultural aggression, which create the need for us to improve our forms of resistance.

The invasion of new models in our regional market, the dominant form of education that disparages our knowledge and language, the imposition of laws that encroach upon our rights, the vertical political practices of the government, the powerful influence of the media and the intrusions on our traditional celebrations are some of the elements that threaten the total destruction of our culture.

Nevertheless, our people have adopted forms of organization to defend their form of life, their demands and aspirations. History has recorded memorable resistance movements attuned to the circumstances of the times. There have been moments of overt militancy and periods of passivism. Contemporary ethnic demands are closely linked to the demands of oppressed people. The popular isthmian organization has developed forms of sustained struggle experimenting with unprecedented tactics in the field of political relations in our country.

Important advances have likewise been made in the area of culture: the adoption of a practical alphabet, the result of lengthy and mature discussions on the part of the people themselves has prompted an important literary tradition that promotes the development of the language through the publishing of printed matter. Musical and artistic creations have regained strength and reach out beyond the regional or national sphere.

All this motivates us to sustain our resistance and obliges us to seek mechanisms to help us in its systematization. It helps us to perceive the need to identify the most important aspects of our culture and forms of collective participation that have enabled our people to survive, and to revitalize, promote and develop those aspects. It also helps us to recognize the need to systematize our knowledge and to lend more advanced expression to the principles and values that accompany our life.

The methods of our work

The methods of Paulo Freire geared to the specific situation on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the people of Juchitán are being used to elaborate the materials of the Pedagogical Model for Cultural Dialogue and the Promotion of Literacy in the Zapotec language.

The general procedures and their basic principles can be described and interpreted as follows:

It is necessary to develop an education that can liberate the oppressed sectors of society and increase their awareness of their situation so as to help them to intervene in history and act on behalf of their people. This will initiate a process of change in society and open the clouds that oppress them. This end can only be reached by resolving the contradictions inherent in the »banking« concept of education, which derives its name from the practice of depositing knowledge in the learner as if he were a bank, without permitting him to be an active agent in the educational process. The contradiction between teacher and learner must be resolved through the principle of humility on the part of the teacher.

The methodology of liberatory education is dialogue conducted in accordance with the following procedure that corresponds to the stages in the process of *conscientizaço* proposed by Freire:

1. The investigation of themes, a procedure of identifying the issues of concern to the learners participating in the dialogue that encompass a representative vocabulary. The themes and the generative words of the dialogue and the literacy learning process are selected around those concerns. That body of words is determined in dialogue together with the potential literacy learners.

2. The systematic organization or codification of the concerns or issues of the concepts that have been gathered, as well as the words that most adequately represent the structure of the language, primarily as regards the phonological aspects and the more general aspects of morphology and syntax.

3. Entering a new dialogue with the learners to decodifiy the themes so as to confront the inherent issues and, through the

process of writing, to aid in the linguistic analysis of the words that generate new expressions.

Adopting this method to develop the program was not a mechanical exercise. Neither did it rigidly follow all of the proposals outlined above. The principles and techniques were adapted, in a spirit of flexibility, to the cultural and linguistic conditions of the region of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the starting point being the characteristics of the population of Juchitán and those of its neighboring communities which are most similar in the two relevant respects.

Identification of the themes

The task of identifying the most important themes in the culture of the region reflected the objective of satisfying the need for conserving and developing that culture and at the same time of helping the people towards their liberation. The promotion of reading and writing skills was seen as a means of serving the needs of the people to express themselves and increase their knowledge.

Those needs are evident in everyday and occasional activities of family and community life, including the tasks of productive work, the distribution and consumption of the products, the education of the children, and family and public reunions. All those situations reflect the particular world of the Zapotec people. That world, which expresses the particular needs of the people, must at the same time be the area of focus in the analysis of the culture and in the texts used to practice reading and writing skills.

Proceeding on this premise, the Pedagogical Model for Cultural Dialogue and Promotion of Literacy was developed on the basis of knowledge of Zapotec reality, taking into consideration all the various forms of speech and expressions found in daily and occasional use including words, phrases, enunciations, texts of conversations, orders, petitions, discussions and so forth.

An ample body of speech was collected through dialogue and participation in various activities that provided the opportunity to talk with persons who speak the Zapotec language. We conversed with peasants, fishermen, craftsmen and tortilla vendors among other persons, and, in our interviews, we gained an impression of the culture and its problems. We did not make a complete interpretation, or catalogue all the details and elements. However, we did identify the most general and conspicuous features and problems. We did not conduct a complete socio-ethnic and linguistic study, but we did succeed in gathering information on the matters of chief interest and concern to the people and the language with which they express those interests and concerns. The following is a brief and general description of the cultural reality and the problems of the Zapotec people as we saw them:

Agriculture is the main productive activity. The basic foodstuffs — maize, beans, squash and chili — are produced on the family farming plot or *milpa*. The people supplement their diets and family income through other occupations like fishing, hunting, handicrafts and cattle raising, as well as through the semi-industrialization of products for marketing. They also engage in other types of small-scale commercial enterprise. The marketing of their manpower as farmhands, servants, workers and employees provides them with an important present day source of income.

The people of the isthmus have their own specific way of accomplishing those tasks. Their ways of doing things obey a complex and deeply rooted traditional structure that identifies them ethnically and culturally as Zapotecs. Their identity is primarily reflected in their language, but it also exists in the details of their personal life, in their architecture, their food, etc. and is reinforced in their enjoyment of their dances, music, paintings, stories and the other forms of art incorporated in their lives.

The most salient aspects identified in the investigatory stage of the dialogue were codified, classified and organized according to their cultural and linguistic significance into four general themes comprising sixteen specific generative topics and words.

Codification

Each one of the specific generative themes forms a unit of work, the initial phase of which entails cultural dialogue towards a critical and systematic analysis of the theme in question. During the second phase, learning for literacy is initiated by analyzing the generative word, breaking it down into syllables, pointing out syllabic families formed by consonants that are studied together with the vowels, and subsequently combining the syllables to create new words.

At the close of the first phase of dialogue, before going on to teach the elements of reading and writing, a stimulating sentence is presented with the aim of metaphorically tying cultural dialogue to the exercise of reading and writing so as to hold the interest of the adult learner and secure his participation in the teaching-learning process. The sentences used in our work are cited herein at the end of each theme description.

A. *First general theme:* **agriculture**

As mentioned above, this is the fundamental economic activity based on the cultivation of the *milpa*. It comprises the following specific topics.

1. The earth. In the Zapotec concept of the world, the earth is nature itself. It is the mother of mankind and of every form of life around us living on it. Everyone has an equal right to enjoy the earth. No one can claim unfair personal possession of it. The generative word comprising this topic is *layú*, which in general means »earth«, and in certain contexts »soil« or »land«.

Guendarunibia' layú tobi si laa ne guendaruunda' lu gui'chi

To know the earth is to read it.

2. Preparing the earth. For the earth to bestow its fruits, people must live in harmony with it and with all other living things. Treating the environment with care and preparing the earth enables us to grow maize and other necessary products. The word *raana'*, which means »to clear and weed the earth, and to plow or leave it fallow« represents this topic.

Cuzulunu cazi'dinu, ne rului' pe' cusianu layu guiaba bini

To clear the land is to prepare it for writing.

3. Sowing the maize. This is the most important cyclical activity of farming. When he sows the land, the farmer places his confidence in a harvest that will sustain him for an entire year. The expression that represents this topic is *riaaba xuba'*, which literally means »the maize falls«.

Guendarusaba bini tobisi laa ne guendaruunda' lu gui'chi', nacani guendariba'qui' diidxa' layu.

To sow is to write, to put letters into the earth.

4. The germination and care of the *»milpa«*. When life begins to develop in the seed in the soil, the maize germinates and a new plant issues forth. The Zapotec farmer provides the care needed for the plant to develop and bear fruit. The word *duuza'* that means »tender maize«, is the generative word for this topic.

> *Scasi riaapa' duuza' cha'hui' lu layu, gapanu guira' ni cuca'nu lu xquendabiaaninu.*
>
> To cultivate the »*milpa*« is to cultivate our learning.

5. Harvesting and striping the maize. The farmers toil to procure the basis for their survival from the earth, and then they reap the harvest. They strip the maize from the cobs. Part of the harvest serves as food. The best kernels are saved to sow and secure the next crop. The expression that represents this topic is *caxuuba' xuba'*, which means »to scrape the maize«.

> *Xuba' ne diidxa' tobisi laaca', rudxi'banu la? ne ridale ca'.*
>
> Seeds and words are alike; we cultivate them to multiply them.

B. Second general theme: **culture and intelligence.**

Man's ability to cultivate maize and to produce other products for his benefit is the result of his knowledge of nature acquired through his gift of intelligence that enables him to create culture by applying his knowledge for the common good. This theme is divided into the four following generative topics:

6. Culture and intelligence. Working the land is an elementary form of culture. Accordingly, by defending their land and natural resources, the Zapotec people are implicitly defending their culture.

The Zapotec culture comprises their unique modes of doing things: working, using the land, distributing their products, playing, resting etc. All their daily activities and the details of their traditions preserve their culture from invasion by foreign customs that contradict their values of brotherly solidarity and cooperation. The word *guendabiaani'* , which means »culture, intelligence, talent«, represents this topic.

> *Guendabiaani' guyuu dxique ruzaani' laanu yanna.*
> *Guendabiaani' nuu yannarului' laanu ca dxi cha'hui' zeeda.*
>
> The light of the past illuminates the present.
> The light of the present shows us the future.

7. The sun. According to tradition, the sun is the god of intelligence and of life in general. The sun directs the processes of life and provides the means to knowledge, illuminating us with its light. The word designating this topic is *gubidxa*, that means »the sun«.

> *Gubidxa guzaani' xquendabiaaninu.*
>
> Let the sun keep lighting our knowledge.

8. The water. This element is complementary to the earth and the sun. The animals, men, the plants and the earth itself need water. Its presence is indispensable for farming, and everyone has rights of equal access to it. No one may own the sun, the earth or the water. The word representing this topic is *nisa*, or »water«.

> *Guinabanu gusiniisi nisaguie duuza' xquendabiaaninu.*
>
> Let the rain grow the *milpa* of our knowledge.

9. Social participation. Culture and intelligence have led the people to understand that in order for everyone to have equal access to all the gifts of nature, they must organize their lives in harmony with one another. Organization in harmony is achieved when everyone participates in matters of common concern. The word that generates this topic is *yoola'hui'*, meaning »central or communal house, house of the people«, and is currently used in reference to the municipal administration building.

> *Gúninu guendariziidi' scasica raca guendalisaa.*
>
> We develop learning in the way a *tequio* is made.

C. Third general theme: **Work**

Man can reap the benefits bestowed on him by nature owing to his work on the land, the sea or wherever else he may toil. Culture and intelligence have developed as a result of this human activity. To preserve the Zapotec culture, it is necessary to maintain a relation in harmony with nature through the traditional communal forms of property and work.

10. Hunting, fishing and cattle raising. Man began to create culture around three basic enterprises: hunting, fishing and gathering. Culture took an important step forward as man began to cultivate maize and raise animals. The word *guchachi'*, which means iguana, is useful to generate dialogue on this topic. Since stews made with the meat of iguanas are considered a delicacy by the people of the isthmus, the animal is highly prized by hunters.

> *Ti guchachi' cuxhooñe' guidxilayu. gudxiro' ne guidxihuiini' ¡la gatana! guidxiguie' nabani.*
>
> An iguana is making its way through the world. People of the universe take heed! Juchitán lives.

11. The implements of work (first part). Man makes implements and tools using traditional methods to help him carry out his various productive activities. Those articles are produced by the peasants to supplement their economy. The word that generates this topic is *guixhe*, which means »net, hammock«. Those are articles used by farmers and fishermen for carrying food and maize, and for fishing. They also serve as a place for people to rest during the night. According to custom, they are woven in the form of a net.

Ne diidxado' ridiiba' guixhe cha'hui' ra riziila'dxi' ne ridale guira' ni runi xquendabiaaninu.

Words are culture's net for rest and recreation.

12. The preparation of food. To use the products of the soil and sea as nourishment, they first must be adequately prepared and converted into nutritious, digestible and palatable foods. Women are responsible for the task of preparing food. The word *gueta*, which means »tortilla« is the symbol for this theme.

Guendaruunda' ne guendarucaa diidxa'lu gui'chi' rusibanica' xquendabiaaninu scasica rusibani guendaro ladxido'no.

Reading and writing give life to our intelligence; food gives life to our physical being.

13. Work. The activities analyzed above together with other complementary activities go to form the processes of work. Man is characterized by having to work in order to reap the benefits of nature. In village life, work also serves to create the bonds of solidarity customary among the members of the group. However, very serious problems have been borne upon us by modern forms of land ownership and unjustly paid wage labor. The word representing this theme is *dxiiña'*, which means »work«.

Guendaruni dxiiña' rutale guendabiaani' binniza runi dxiiña', nuu xpiaani', nabani.

Culture develops by virtue of work. The Zapotec is industrious and cultivated. He lives.

14. Women. Zapotec women play a key role in matters of work, as well as in social and cultural activities. Accordingly, in our society women and men have the same standard of development. The marketing of labor also creates problems for women. The word that symbolizes this theme is *ba'dudxaapa'*, which means »girl, maiden, woman«.

> *Xquidxinu, ra cayaca dxiiña' que ziaadxa' ba'dudxaapa'. pa nada nuu guidxi ne zeeda' dxu' zaqueca, zazaniruca'. zaca nga guidxiguie', ba'dunguiiu ne ba'dudxaapa' tobisi laaca'.*
>
> Wherever there is work in our villages, you will find our women. When we keep watch for our enemies, there is no differentiation — they are at the forefront. That is how Juchitán is: men and women represent a unity.

15. Implements of work (second part). Baskets are another article crafted according to Zapotec tradition. One type of basket characteristically serves as a receptacle for Zapotec women to carry their produce to the market. Another type is used by farmers and fishermen to store and transport their products. The generative word meaning »basket« is *dxumi*.

> *Ndaani'dxumi ridxa guendaro, lu xquendabiaani' binni ridxa guendananna guchanu guendaro ne guendananna xhuminu ne xquendabiaaninu, ti laaca'rudiica'laanu guendanabani.*
>
> *Baskets hold food; the human mind holds wisdom. Let us fill our baskets and minds with nourishment, for nourishment gives us life.*

16. Mothers. Besides giving us life, our mothers initiate us into our culture and its practices. They are our first models for work and struggle. It is they who teach us to speak. The generative word for this topic is *jñna'*, which means »mother«.

> *Gunaa nga jñna guira' binni nuu guidxilayu. jácanu gula'qui'sti' guendarucaalu guira'dxi ndaani' Guidxiguie'.*
>
> Woman is the mother of every man on earth. Mothers are the model for our daily struggle in Juchitán.

D. Fourth general theme: **Language.** For this theme there is only one specific topic.

17. Language. The primary natural resource that we indigenous people of the isthmus have in order to defend and develop our culture is the Zapotec language. It is necessary for us to preserve our language and foster its development. We can do so by helping our people to become literate in their own language. The Spanish language has been imposed on us throughout the years, dominating many of the activities of Zapotec life. It has now become essential for us to learn and use it, the result being the introduction of many Spanish words into the Zapotec language. In some cases those words have come to replace native words. One of our tasks will be to rescue the words we have stopped using. The generative word for this theme is *diidxa'*, which means »tongue, language, word«.

> *Diidxa naxhi naya ne ruzaani' naya, rului' guiba' ruzaani', rului' gubidxa; naya ne ruzaani' ti nacani guendabiaani'.*
>
> The voice of poetry is clean and bright: clean, like the heavens, bright as the sun; it is clean and bright because it is intelligence.

Didactic materials

The Pedagogical Model for Cultural Dialogue and Promotion of Literacy is divided into three parts:

1. The guide for the leader of the dialogue and practice exercises to acquire literacy skills. The guide helps to develop the content of each unit and explains the didactical process by means of systematic steps beginning with techniques for motivating dialogue, and going on to practice exercises for reading and writing. The procedures are progressively left to the discretion of the literacy teacher so as to allow more freedom for teacher and learners to decide on their own course.

2. Workbooks. There is one workbook for each topic. They contain exercises for reading and writing and ways to control learning progress. The first books introduce words and simple sentences; the intermediate workbooks contain longer and more complex texts; and the advanced workbooks contain practice exercises in grammar and creative writing.

3. Auxiliary vocabulary lists compiled according to theme. The lists were put together on the basis of the words that are formed by combining the consonants studied in each generative word with the different classes of Zapotec vowels. There is a progressive increase in the number of words and expressions, since syllables learned in the first generative words are combined with the new consonants learned in each subsequent generative word.

The staff of the graphic workshop at the *Casa de la Cultura* in Juchitán was in charge of the important tasks of designing the layout of the workbooks and printing them and other didactic materials as well.

Our efforts to develop and implement the Pedagogical Model for Cultural Dialogue and the Promotion of Literacy in the Zapotec language has provided us with the opportunity for dialogue and social contact with our people on the need to fight in order to maintain our language and culture. That cultural dialogue has enabled us to identify the most important elements in our culture to strengthen and develop, and the promotion of literacy in our language has allowed us to prove the value of writing in order to preserve and develop our mother tongue.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES EDUCATION

A NEW PARTNERSHIP

ASIA SOUTH PACIFIC BUREAU FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The »Asian Conference on the Rights of Indigenous/Tribal Peoples«, organised by the Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), took place at the end of May 1993 in Chiangmai, Thailand. The following is a summary of the conference by Somsak J.

Somsak J.

Indigenous peoples and declarations

Introduction

Late May 1993. Chiangmai, Thailand. An unorthodox conference conducted by unorthodox persons. Indigenous peoples from Asia meeting to review their past and affirm their future.

A peculiar meeting indeed, this **Asian Conference on the Rights of Indigenous/Tribal Peoples**, organized by the Asian Indigenous

Peoples Pact (AIPP). Peculiar because the organizers and the delegates alike were indigenous peoples themselves. They were neither bureaucrats nor government officials. Nor were they staff of the United Nations or other institutions claiming responsibililty for the »development« of poor and ethnic populations, as is almost always the case.

Yes, this was an assembly of unusual participants with unusual languages and unusual dress, unlike the more homogeneous you and I. And they met there to share their experiences, their feelings, to review their oppression and reflect on the repeated frustrations of dealing with the authorities who control their lives.

Having been ordered around in circles for so many hundreds of years, the indigenous peoples have legitimate claim to proclaim »*We are the whorled*«.

Yet, more importantly and more to the point, they met there to assert their identity, to declare their rights to equal and just treatment. Human rights.

The case

Do you recall your school days? Remember the school bully? The guy who wasn't too bright but had a lot of bulk. And used it to push the little people around. Remember the government? These people did. They'd been pushed around by one government or another all their lives. All their ancestors' lives.

Take the case of the Nagas, flanked by Burma and India, who, in 1949, were promised, »*India does not want to deprive the Nagas of their land. Nagas are at full liberty to do as they like, either to become part of India or be separated...*« Yet later, »... *Indian armed forces were sent into Nagaland wave upon wave. Massive harass-*

ment started all over the country. Hundreds of villages were burnt down. Crops and grain were destroyed. Thousands were arrested, beaten, put in jails. Countless women were raped...«

Take the case of the Moluccans, a people indigenous to several larger and lesser islands in the midst of Indonesia. *»The South Moluccans are a victimized people. Thirty years of Javanese-dominated Indonesian occupation has taken it toll. ... Indonesian troops continue to comb the countryside for Republic (of Maluku) loyalists. Murder of civilians, torture and imprisonment without trial are commonplace.«*

Take the other cases. There were more, many more. Some of which we already know. Such as the Arakan from Burma, the Jumma in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, the Dayak of Indonesia, the hill tribes in northern Thailand and Burma.

The levels of mistreatment differed, but two themes were recurrent. Call one Persecution, the continuing oppression and denial of basic human rights. Call the other Homelessness, the inability to reside in one's ancestral lands and claim them as one's own inheritance at the same time.

This was the case. And despite all legalities and orders of the court, the case for the defendant did not rest. Does not rest.

The participants

The delegates? They were people consciously and systematically denied their rights. Their rights as people inhabiting this planet along with the rest of us. Even in this the International Year of the World's Indigenous People, or so the United Nations say. There were people from 12 nations in Asia and the Pacific, three of which were new to me, a non-indigenous person with plenty of rights.

There were representatives from Bangladesh, Burma, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand. And Nagaland, the eastern part of which is claimed by Burma and the western part by India. And the Republic Maluku (all of which is claimed by Indonesia). And West Papua (all of which is claimed by Indonesia and called Irian Jaya).

Yes, I learned of three nations new to my geography but old in the hearts and minds of the inhabitants. I also learned of the lengths to which the bullies of the world will go to maintain their weight advantage and their profits. I learned that the delegates from Burma and Bangladesh came from Bangkok and those from Maluku and West Papua came from the Netherlands. No, these were not residences of choice, but places where they could live in safety while promoting their peoples' cause. »Why« they were asked, »didn't representatives of the people come directly from Burma, from Maluku?« The answer: such representatives either would not be allowed to leave or not allowed to return once they had.

And although the setting of a large hotel conference room was alien to them, they met with confidence. And although English was not their native language, they were articulate. They spoke with emotion, but they spoke with understanding and conviction. They were together.

The proceedings

The proceedings were strictly conventional. And atypical in content. First of all, just imagine ethnic minority peoples speaking for themselves, presenting their own case without the onerous »assistance« of government officials. When we've always been told that »they« really don't understand their own problems, because they're uneducated and oh-so-backward.

Second, the topics discussed were not the traditional and officially-proposed »destruction of the forests by highland farmers« or the »threats to national security posed by tribal movements« or the »resistance to national development schemes by minority peoples«. What was addressed were the transgressions, violations and outright refusal of authorities to implement full human rights. The insensitivity to minority needs. And how this should be made known to a wider audience, in particular the governments responsible and the United Nations (which is organizing a world-wide conference on human rights in June 1993).

The site was a hotel near Chiangmai University which has changed ownership several times and definitely seen better days. In one sense, very appropriate for a meeting of indigenous peoples. Subtle reminders of ancestral situations. Not so subtle were the aged air-conditioners, which generated at least two continuous waterfalls throughout the proceedings, and the bad coffee.

Day 1 was given over to Country Reports, excerpts of which were presented above. Sad reviews of indigenous histories. Days 2 - 3 included two presentations by representatives of the UN (sponsors and good fellows, therefore, allotted time to speak) and the drafting of the Declaration on the Rights of Asian Indigenous/Tribal Peoples and attached resolutions. Small-group discussions were held outside under trees when the electricity went off, affording indigenous peoples the opportunity to harvest indigenous lychees in the process. At least some fruits for their labors. Day 4 saw the final reading, revision, and acceptance of the Declaration and resolutions, which we shall now review.

The declaration

The Declaration of the Rights of Asian Indigenous/Tribal Peoples consists of 4 pages divided into 4 sections. In brief, this is what it says:

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»Threats to our existence

Our existence is threatened by systematic extermination campaigns, aggressive development, population transfers, forced assimilation, invasions, occupations and militarization of indigenous peoples communities.

Issues and concerns of indigenous peoples can no longer be ignored and suppressed, they are an integral part of the national and international political agenda and have to be addressed at that level.

Development aggression involves the encroachment to our lands by: logging and mining operations, hydroelectric dams, geothermal and nuclear energy projects, national parks, multinational corporations and industrial zones, agribusiness projects and tourism development.

We are of the land

We Asian indigenous peoples know who we are. We are the descendants of the original inhabitants of territories which have been conquered; and we consider ourselves distinct from other sectors of the prevailing society. We have our own languages, religions, customs and worldview and we are determined to transmit them to future generations.

Asian indigenous people represent a variety of cultures and histories. We share in common a struggle to be free from Western or Japanese colonialism in the last centuries and more recently a struggle to be free from forms of Asian colonialism.

Asian colonialists have joined hands with previous colonizers to recolonize us in the guise of 'nation-building' and 'development' and *to deprive us of our rights to self-determination. We are being pushed into extinction...*

What we mean by self-determination

We assert the right to our identities which are linked to our territories and ancestral domain. We assert our right to the ownership of our lands as the foundation of our existence, our custom laws and indigenous social systems.

We assert the right to use, manage and dispose of all natural resources found within our ancestral domain.

We assert the right to control our economies, to economic prosperity with the means at our disposal.

We assert the right to restore, manage, develop and practice our culture, speak our language, observe our traditions and ways of life...

We assert the right to determine the form of selfgovernment and to uphold indigenous political systems...

We assert the right to be recognized as citizens of the nation states of our choice.

We assert the right of refugees forced out of our territories to return to our territories and to re-occupy our lands under appropriate safeguards.

Where indigenous peoples live in territories not their own and live in minority situations, we assert the right to equal protection of the law and to safeguards against minority discrimination and oppression.

We assert the right to defend ourselves when our rights to self-determination are violated or are not recognized.

Strategies for empowerment

We resist any attempt to be appropriated or represented by government agencies, non-government organizations and religious organizations without our consent or knowledge.

... we should educate the public about our history and aspirations and establish alliances with peoples organizations in the other sectors of the population.

We will strive to create national and regional alliances or fora of indigenous peoples organizations...

We will organize campaigns aimed at advancing the interests of indigenous people through legislation on the local, national and international levels.

Our struggle for the recognition of the right to self-determination and our alternative models of sustainable development must be joined with the social movements of women, environmental groups and the movement for the equality of all races.

We shall submit this declaration to the United Nations and other international bodies and agencies and to governments. More importantly we shall bring this declaration to our people to serve as a framework for continuing actions that link local to national initiatives with indigenous peoples movements in the other parts of the world.«

Attached to the declaration were individual resolutions concerning the special situations in several countries. For example, the Moluccans and West Papuans in Indonesia, the Jumma peoples in Bangladesh, the tribal peoples in Thailand. Each a particular call for justice in a world bent on domination.

The outcome?

Remember the American Indian? Declarations were made then as well, over one hundred years ago. Not only declarations, but a long linking chain of government promises and treaties in response to those declarations. Guaranteeing basic rights. A chain indeed, of broken links. In the end, the US government made its own declaration. A declaration of war. Against the indigenous Americans.

So what are we to expect, hope for, in this the UN proclaimed International Year for the World's Indigenous People? Action? Good listeners? Is, in fact, anyone listening? Other than the sole Malaysian news reporter who attended the conference. And what about the UN sponsored conference on human rights slated for Vienna? Are they serious? Or simply posturing and perpetuating the smokescreen intended to obscure the continuing lack of intention to initiate action. Any action which might tilt the balances of power in favor of those less favored.

Hmmm... another declaration and several resolutions presented to the United Nations. Isn't that the august body responsible for securing world peace and justice, in places like Somalia, East Timor, Yugoslavia? The same United Nations that rarely engages in United Actions beyond their own delayed declarations »strongly condemning« crimes like SLORC's massacre of Burmese students, women, monks, and minority ethnic populations

A declaration further presented to the Asian governments themselves. The same governments which have been sanctioning if not actively perpetrating the desecration of indigenous peoples. The same governments which maintain vested economic and political interests in exploiting the defenseless. This sounds like an American re-run.

Well, good luck. Good luck with the United Nations and the nations of Asia. Because making declarations is their primary business, the game they play best. Which is better known as »public relations«. Yes, you're submitting to the folks who make declarations, not entertain them.

Yet what choice do the indigenous peoples of this world have, relegated as they are to the grass roots which lie underfoot? They can't all take up arms and drive out the dominant powers. Although some have resorted to that for their own survival. In the end it is their voice, their pen which constitute two of their most effective weapons. Very articulate weapons. Weapons which hope to jostle, to scratch at the conscience of those in charge. But what if those in charge don't hear, choose not to read, then what?

Then it comes down to us — you and me. We are not deaf, we are literate. And we are the ones who uphold the governments of the world in their callous domination, the UN in its hollow remonstration. As long as we don't listen, we don't read, and we don't call for the justice our own conscience fully understands, then it is we who support oppression. It is we who are no brighter than the school bully, no more human than the government.

And if we don't respond to the cry of the indigenous peoples... then... The Powerful, hawks that they are, will once again piously bow their heads from on high and declare, »Let us prey«, before beginning yet another meal.

How can Indian knowledge based on centuries of experience be meaningfully used in the area of agriculture and medicine? How large is the danger that this knowledge will be expropriated and thereby destroyed by the pharmaceutical and biochemical industry? The author takes a look at these questions in the following article. Dieter Gawora is a staff member of the Latin America Documentation Centre at the Gesamthochschule Kassel. This article is a reprint from the journal »Entwicklung und Ländlicher Raum« 1/92.

Dieter Gawora

Indian knowledge in Amazonia. Land use and medicinal knowledge — opportunity or danger?

Indian knowledge is currently being »discovered« after having been ignored for centuries. Is this the last chapter in the history of the conquistadores or is it a chance to solve the problems of Amazonia? Indian land use systems, as specific expression of Indian knowledge, can offer solutions for the rural population of

Amazonia if certain conditions are able to be met. The expropriation of Indian knowledge by the pharmaceutical and biochemical industries brings with it, on the other hand, the danger of destroying this very knowledge.

Towards the end of 1983 the author made the following statement in an application for an Amazon project: »The solution for Amazonia can only come from within Amazonia itself. So far, every form of 'development' brought to Amazonia from 'outside' has not resulted in development but rather the destruction of the rain forest and the death of the Indians«.

Eight years ago this statement was still a solitary cry which died away, so to say, in the »rain forests«. Today this earlier statement appears to be making itself well heard in the discussion on Amazonia — in scientific circles and among the general public.

Who can still seriously dispute the fact that the development projects brought to Amazonia from outside — trans-Amazonian roads, hydro-electric power plants, exploitation of minerals, targetted colonisation, export of tropical wood — lead to ecological destruction and pose a threat to the traditional Amazonian population.

Nevertheless, this now widely-held belief is still not a determining factor in the further development of Amazonia. Multi-national economic interests, strategic calculation of the Brazilian military and the pressure of foreign debts remain the determining factors in the »development of Amazonia«. Massive resistance to these destructive forces will continue to be needed.

More interest in indigenous forms of living

How, on the other hand, could an Amazonian solution for Amazonia look like? A closer look at the forms of living and economic

Cultivating the Roça by the Xerente. This form of land management is similar to that of the Kayapo. *Photo: Gawora* system of the indigenous population groups in the interior of the Amazon region, for example the Cayapo Indians, could provide an answer here.

The Cayapo Indians live in the South of Parà, where the Amazon rain forest and the Central Brazilian savanna meet. The economic system of the Cayapo consists of a complex network of hunting, fishing, gathering and cultivation techniques. We examined in detail the cultivation techniques used in the traditional, cultivated planting of the »Rocas«, the areas of land used for farming.

New, suitable areas for the Rocas are sought by the families annually. Here attention is paid to distance from the village, existing vegetation (provides information on soil fertility) as well as structure, colouring and water absorption capacity (criteria for soil fertility). The types of soil and vegetation are classified by the Cayapo.

The individual Rocas are generally 0.5 - 2.5 hectares large. They are carefully cleared — the scrub is not burnt off in one go but successively. After the rainy season has begun, sweet potatoes and manioc are planted. Into these crops the Cayapo plant different cultivated plants — depending on the localilty of the Rocas in such a form that light, water and nutrients can be used to an optimum by the plants.

This first — »horizontal« — level of diversity is complemented by a second which concentrates on diversity within the individual species. The Cayapo cultivate 25 different types of manioc (the Desana Indians more than 40 and the Wanana 59 types). This is a remarkable botanical feat. This »vertical« diversity is attained through successive cultivation of the fields. Small plants are cultivated first, then taller species together with low-growing fruit trees, finally tall forest trees

The yields from the annual and two-yearly cultures drop after two to three years. The Rocas are then no longer cultivated. Yet harvests are reaped from the fields for years after, for example papaya 4 - 5 years, bananas for up to 20 years and kupa for up to 40 years.

The old Roca which is no longer cultivated, attracts wild animals; it therefore serves additionally as a good hunting ground and is a type of »natural gene bank« for a rich diversity of plants. The Cayapo pay particular attention to preserving this diversity of species for, apart from the Roca economy, they probably cultivate proper resource islets where certain types of animals and plants abound. More detailed studies on this are not yet available however.

The Cayapo cultivate small gardens in the forests so that they do not have to take food with them on hunting trips. Natural clearings which have been formed by lightning or the natural death of trees, are planted according to another cultivation system, specially suited to these conditions.

Along the waysides which connect the individual villages of the Cayapo, various plants and trees are also planted. On one three kilometre stretch 185 trees (of 15 different species) as well as 1500 medicinal plants and 5000 nutritional plants were counted.

The horizontal and vertical diversity found in the Roca economy is thus complemented by a diversity in method as well.

In spite of the above-mentioned complexity of the systems, they represent only one part of the different land management sytems of the Cayapo on which still little information is available. It is assumed that similar, complex systems exist for hunting, fishing and collecting.

The rain forest is an area of Indian culture

These examples allow the following conclusions: To characterise Indian land management forms as »shifting cultivation« or as »burning off cultivation« is, if not completely incorrect, an over-simplified description of the true forms of management. A distinction between jungle and cultural land is no longer possible; where for example can the line be drawn as far as an old Roca is concerned which is no longer cultivated but which still produces crops? The question as to the »originality« of the »original«-forest also arises as clearly much more land has been cultivated by the Indians than has been assumed. This discovery opens up a new perspective for Amazonia: The rain forest should no longer be regarded as a impenetrable jungle but as an area of Indian culture.

Although only the Cayapo and their forms of land use have been described in this article, it can generally be assumed that diversity at different levels is a concept which is repeatedly found in Indian agriculture in Amazonia (Brose, 1988).

These forms of Indian land management of which little has been known up until now, are based on century-old traditions of knowledge and experience. Planting, collecting and hunting are moreover European terms which can only give a one-sided picture of these forms of management. The extremely complex Indian systems of land use conceal behind them an even closer network of tradition, spirituality and religious excess, the totality of Indian cosmology which has been handed down for generations.

This Indian cosmology differs from race to race, probably even varies from village to village. »Every forest area has a certain use, bears a certain name, is known in intimate detail and possesses from time immemorial — through historical and mythical narration — its niche in tribal history.« (Andujar, 1988, cit. according to Münzel, 1989)

Roça field of the Xerente.

Photo: Gawora

All attempts to translate Indian cosmology into Western logic have been unsuccessful. Indian land use cannot simply be pressed into a (world) market economy logic. »Archoll, for example, tested 150 manioc species collected by Indians. These plants were taken from their site, treated with fungicides and insecticides and cultivated in monocultures on large areas cleared by machinery. In this way Indian diversity loses its meaning. It was not surprising that most of the plants died of root disease.« (Brose, 1988)

Are Indian forms of land use transferable?

The rubber tappers in Acre have adopted many elements of Indian management. They have developed a system of non-destructive management — without of course reaching the same degree of Indian adaptation. This careful method of rubber extraction was reached only after generations, at a time when Brazilian rubber had already lost its appeal on the international market (Seul, 1988).

The same holds true for the Brazilian nut gatherers in Pará and for the river bank dwellers in Amazonia (Acevedo, 1990 and Pabst, 1988).

To be able to apply Indian land management systems in another management form demands a long-term interest in management, a certain degree of independence from the market and sufficient time (often several decades) for the adjustment.

The state colonisation policy in Brazil has to be regarded as a failure from this perspective. The new settlers leave the land which has been allotted to them after only a few years because it is no longer able to feed them or because they have been driven away by the large landowners — with the result that they press further into the rain forest.

The new settlers who have set themselves up along the roads of Rondonia and Pará, did not have the chance to apply Indian knowledge in their land management. The road signifies the direct link to the market so that there has been no room to develop their own, individually adjusted management system. To complicate the matter more, the new settlers have streamed into Amazonia in the hundreds of thousands within the short space of a few years so that there has been no time to absorb Indian forms of land management.

The only possibility to counteract this destructive form of development is for the settlers to see a perspective in long-term forms of land use — and the quicker the better. For this to succeed it is necessary that the new settlers obtain secure land rights and that they, and those politically responsible, are aware that there is no alternative to using Indian forms of land management. An urgently needed agriculture reform should put an end to a further increase in new settlers.

So there are clearly solutions for the problems of Amazonia; they are based to a large degree on the application of Indian knowledge or Indian land management forms.

The expropriation of Indian knowledge — a danger for Amazonia

The key for Amazonia lies in Indian knowledge. Unfortunately this knowledge of the Indian people brings with it the danger that they will be dispossessed of this very knowledge by others wishing to gain power over the largest gene reservoir.

The discovery that Indian knowledge on the existence and use of numerous medicinal plants of Amazonia could be of inestimable value to modern pharmacology and chemistry appears to have slowly won its way through to the management levels of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. About 75% of the biochemical components in drugs have the same or similar forms of application in Western medicine as in traditional healing systems. The National Cancer Institute in USA currently uses 50 - 100 per cent of its budget for research on ethno-botanical information in traditional healing methods which could be of importance for cancer and AIDS medicine (Elisabetzky, 1991).

Only one per cent of tropical plants at the most has been analysed for their pharmaceutical value (King, 1991).

The Amazon Indians possess a great fundus of knowledge on diverse healing possibilities with the numerous medicinal plants which grow in the forests.

This poses a large ethno-pharmaceutical challenge, namely to examine this Indian knowledge more closely and to apply it in modern bio-chemistry (Elizabetzky, 1991). Yet the danger exists here that the intellectual property of the Indians will be ruthlessly exploited. In »expropriating« Indian knowledge, in taking away individual elements from Indian cosmology and marketing them, we run the risk of destroying Indian culture and their knowledge on the rain forests.

With this concern in mind, Posey provoked the debate on the protection of the Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous People (Posey, 1991). For centuries the greatest danger for the Indians lay in the ignorance of Western cultures regarding Indian culture because they classified it as primitive; now the »discovery« of the value of Indian knowledge presents itself as a new, even more formidable, danger as far as the exploitation of these population groups are concerned.

Chance and danger in the application of Indian knowledge lie close together. The chance that Indian knowledge can be adopted by other social groups in Amazonia; the danger that this knowledge will be expropriated for the world market.

The word Mangyan is a generic term for the indigenous peoples of the island of Mindoro. One of the six ethnic groups belonging to the Mangyan Community are the Irayas; using them as an example the author raises the question of threat, ability to survive and the preservation of traditions of »indigenous peoples«. Aleli B. Bawagan is Executive Director, Organization for Training, Research and Development Foundation, Inc. (OTRADEV). His article is a reprint from the journal »Grassroots Advocate«, Jan-April 1993.

Aleli B. Bawagan

The Mangyan Community — are they living with or against nature?

The word Mangyan is a generic term for the indigenous peoples of the island of Mindoro. There are six distinct ethnolinguistic groupings which inhabit the hinterlands of the island, namely: Iraya, Alangan, Tadyawan, Tao-Buhid, Buhid and Hanunoo. The different Mangyan groups generally share the same world view, specially on the interrelationships of various aspects of nature — land, water, rocks, air, forest, wind — and how these affect their way of life.

Despite the similar world views, there are varying practices and beliefs from group to group. Since the information built up from the exposure and experience of the organization during the past years had been limited to the Iraya community, the focus would center on them.

The Irayas live in the north of the island, in the municipalities of Baco, San Teodoro, Puerto Galera in Oriental Mindoro and Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Mamburao and Sta. Cruz in Occidental Mindoro. Among the Mangyan peoples in Mindoro, they rank second in terms of population. While they still live in the hinterlands, the lowland economy and way of life have found their way into their villages. This contact with the Tagalogs and other lowlanders has led to a large cultural change among the Iraya communities.

Way of life

For most Irayas, as with all indigenous peoples, life revolves around their close relationship with the land and with nature. There exists a deep respect for the environment, as for them land is the source of life. This is in sharp contrast to how outsiders view land — purely, as an economic resource base. This is where the conflict and crisis begin.

The Irayas have a deep attachment to the land. Their culture and way of life stem from this relationship. Land is the source of almost all their material needs, the home of their ancestors and where their next generation will survive. Hence, this world view has resulted in practices which are highly sustainable, manageable, harmonious, unexcessive and cooperative.

In farming, the Irayas still practice shifting cultivation or the traditional slash-and-burn method, which has been maligned by many non-indigenous people as the main culprit for deforestation. In this concern, the Irayas are highly misunderstood.

Centuries of experience have taught them to practice what is now scientifically or academically termed as inter-cropping, relay cropping, pest management, and soil regeneration.

The Irayas' cropping system is varied. Multicropping is practiced despite the limited crop varieties. On their farms, they mix grains with vegetables and rootcrops. In this manner, soil nutrients are not depleted heavily. Furthermore, different crops are planted at different times. This ensures that their food supply lasts all year round. Natural insect repellants such as »*tanglad*« (lemon grass) and nitrogen-fixing plants such as »*kadyos*« (beans) are grown on their farms.

After two planting seasons, the Irayas leave their lands for seven (7) to ten (10) years and allow the soil to rest and recover its fertility. During this period, they either till new plots or return to their old farms, which had been left in fallow. These small plots which the Irayas till are adequate enough to provide for their food needs and will not unnecessarily pressure the soil.

The Irayas also protect the forests. They do not overexploit the rich resources which can be found in their forests. They know that this is their source of water, of fertile lands, of medicines. A certain area in the forest is segregated for long-term crops such as fruit and forest trees. They also know what types of trees to plant, not of those just for themselves, but also those for the birds, other animals and other crops.

The Irayas' knowledge of nature can be seen not only in their farming practices. When fishing in rivers, the Irayas simply put barriers across the flow. They do not poison the fish, even if they know the plants that can be used for this purpose. They only gather the mature fish and put back the fry caught in the traps. If eels are caught ripe with eggs, they put them back in the river where caught. They know when freshwater turtles are about to lay their eggs through signs from winds. In this manner, they do not deplete the stocks in the river.

The forest provides them with most of their medicines. Traditional healers make use of all parts of trees and plants — from the roots, bark, branches, young and mature leaves — to cure illnesses. They know the right amounts or dosages, the proper way of preparing and cooking and the time of day to gather these plants and herbs with optimum potency.

But beyond knowing the right herb for a particular illness, the whole healing process of the Iraya is highly spiritual. The »*managgagamot*« (traditional healer) calls on the gods through the »*marayaw*« (a healing chant) to appease through whatever means those who were accidentally «*hurt*« by the sick, and to help heal and protect the sick.

It is not only the material or physical life of the Irayas that is closely attached to land and nature. It is also true in their values, spiritual beliefs and social relationships. Life is spent harmoniously with nature so as not to disrupt spirits and cause calamities.

Irayas have this admirable trait of generosity. Even with the little that they have, they are still able to share with their neighbors or next-of-kin. Another is moderation. The Irayas go to their farm plots daily, returning with just enough food for the day. They do not stock up on food since they know nature will always provide. This practice practically minimizes using up of nutrients of the soil. They believe that the soil can only accomodate so much at a certain time and going beyond the limitation will cause irreparable damage. Also, they do not harvest all the fruits from the trees, so that some would be left for the birds, as well.

The Irayas pass on these practices to the next generation, mainly through the »*pamuybuyan*« (story-telling). With a semblance of a rite of passage, these are told in their own language. Hence, the practices, beliefs, attachment to and respect for nature are assured secure nestling in the hearts and minds of every Iraya.

Conflict/crisis

If only the Irayas lived just by themselves, they could easily survive the next century. Their practices and beliefs have guided them and helped them endure through the centuries. But this is not to be so. The outside world has created a situation which is threatening the very existence of the Irayas and has made their traditional practices almost unviable and unsustainable.

The conflict started with the entry of lowlanders into the Iraya territory or domain. Lands which were kept in fallow were seen by the Tagalogs as idle lands and hence open for their cultivation. A kind of cultivation that is not in resonance with the Irayas' traditional practices. Since the Irayas view land as communal and can not be owned by any one person, they shared their territory with the lowlanders. But not too long thereafter, the two different world views inevitably clashed.

The lowlanders view land as a resource base and this is manifested in their abusive manners. They greedily entertained the thought of owning the farm lands which, in the first place, were just shared to them by the Irayas. This was realized by acquiring legal documents legitimizing their grabbing of the land. The Irayas did not contest this affront violently, as compared to earlier indigenous peoples who fought and defended their territory from outsiders. As a result, the Irayas' territory greatly shrunk.

The Irayas' fallow period could not be practised anymore. They have to return to their farms only after two (2) to three (3) years. With this shorter period, the soil has not yet fully recovered and therefore, cannot be fully productive. This has forced the Irayas to engage in other forms of economic activity to meet their daily food requirements. The needs of the lowlanders have slowly crept into the life of the Irayas. Their need for lumber, charcoal and farm hands are being met by the Irayas. The Irayas view these as sources of cash and food. These continue despite the knowledge that the practice will have adverse and irreversible effects on their environment and eventually, their way of life and existence as a people. Their only purpose now is to survive and this has diminished their self-esteem.

Cultural changes have also been brought about by events beyond the control of the Irayas. The following situations depict the sorry state of the Irayas.

1. Militarization has been a more recent phenomenon. This has greatly disrupted the peace the Irayas once enjoyed in their areas. Although the scale is not as wide as those experienced by other indigenous peoples, the bombings and ambushes have created trauma among the Irayas, women and children specially.

2. Discrimination from the lowlanders is very strong. The word »Mangyan« has been used as a derogatory term which to them means dirty, unschooled, easy to fool. Some Irayas, as a coping mechanism, have adapted the lowlanders' ways and thoughts and shunned their origins.

3. The Iraya children have been afflicted with »unknown« illnesses brought about by contact with the outsiders and which even their traditional medicine cannot heal.

4. Interventions from church, government and private groups have also introduced some methods and practices which are alienating the Irayas from their own land and culture.

Visions / aspirations

The Irayas are aware of the threats that confront them as a people, and this has strengthened their struggle for ancestral land rights and right to self-determination.

They have started to organize themselves. The Irayas do not have any document to certify ownership of land (e.g. titles, stewardship contracts) but are only claiming the right to their ancestral lands. The first option that the Irayas chose in the active defense of land, no matter the cost. The more recent struggles were against a pasture lease and a talc mining concession. These were all successful in terms of putting a stop to the opposed activities, consolidating awareness of the Irayas regarding their collective strength and power.

The organizing has not stopped at the village level. Federations at the municipal level have been organized and these have linked up to form an Iraya confederation composed of federations from different municipalities. In the same vein, other Mangyan groups have also established their own federations. Altogether, they have organized a provincial Mangyan organization.

A Mangyan development agenda has also been formulated which concretely asserts their rights to ancestral lands, their plans for the preservation of the environment, their challenges to destructive and exploitative models of development and their responses to the issues of self-governance, defense and development. The fulfillment of the agenda will ensure a sustainable future for their children and grandchildren, and assure their survival and growth as a people, with their life still deeply linked with nature. This is their struggle but not theirs alone. Everyone has a stake in their survival.

WOMEN
in ACTION
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International
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In Zautla in the northern mountains of the Mexican State of Puebla, where most people are Nahuats and still speak their language, CESDER (Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Rural) makes an attempt to join knowledge in agrotechnology and farming business which is necessary for survival of farmers on the market, with the wisdom, values and language of the Nahuats which in turn is necessary for survival of a people with an identity of its own. The center addresses itself to the young people of the area, invites them for periods of time to its premises, allows them to recover secondary schooling, and teaches them to practice sustainable farming methods without abandoning their ethnic heritage. Benjamin Berlanga Gallardo is the director of CESDER. In a contribution at a seminar in 1992, he lays out theoretical concepts and practical conclusions that went into the design of his center.

Benjamín Berlanga Gallardo

Design of models of bilingual-bicultural education. Considerations arising from an educational experience in the Sierra Norte of the State of Puebla

The following presentation discusses the socio-cultural basis that must be taken into consideration when designing models for bilingual-bicultural education programs. It briefly examines a) the indigenous groups of Ipaís and contemporary conditions under which their socio-cultural praxis develops; b) the central task of constructing an identity; c) the meaning of education as an instrument of resistance and cultural diffusion; d) pedagogical proposals, educational strategies and »cultural fields« of a thematic universe for bilingual education; and e) a brief description of experience gathered by the *Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Rural*.

In the following discussion I intend to present a series of reflections on bilingual-bicultural education resulting from our work at CESDER. This center of investigation for rural development is a non-government organization that for the past nine years has been working with the indigenous people in the Nahuat region of the northern mountains in the State of Puebla to promote the training of human resources, foster development, pursue research in agriculture and animal husbandry, and form links to aid in the development process. The ideas contained herein stem from our close involvement in the region and observations we have made relating to a pilot project in basic bilingual-bicultural education initiated two and a half years ago together with a small group of indigenous youngsters and their parents in the community of San Andrés Yahuitlalpan in the municipality of Zautla.

What we are talking about here is an alternative proposal for education of a mutual and participatory nature. It concerns inside involvement in the daily life of the people with whom we work, which for some of us has become a life-time project. It concerns work in education and promotion of alternatives for development in an agricultural setting of poverty like many other similar regions throughout the country marked over the course of the past decade by progressive deterioration, by misery mounting to levels that jeopardize the very existence of the social group, deprive its members of human dignity and bring about the structural disintegration of personal, family, community and group identity.

It is our intention here to examine the sociocultural factors to consider when designing models for bilingual-bicultural education programs, and to share our experience in »translating« those considerations, so to speak, into a concrete project of education.

1. Contemporary conditions under which socio-cultural praxis is developed

The situation of peasants and indigenous people living today in agricultural settings of poverty in Mexico is a situation of pauperization, in which the work, product and social processes pertaining to those groups are subordinated in a variety of ways to the dominant logic of the national economy. The recognition and verification of this process is not just recognition and verification of an economic reality, but also the recognition of a widespread situation characterized by social, cultural and psychological processes that modify the subjects and their interrelations, and influence the conditions that serve to form the identity of the social groups, the community nucleus, its individual members and their families.

It must be clearly and exactly recognized that the various forms of that subordination are transforming and diminishing the ability of the social groups in question to control their cultural practices, a process described by Gutiérrez and Trápaga as »permanently recreating the constitutive basis for reproducing the social subjects«.

On the other hand, it must further be determined how certain developments of the past decade have gone to hasten the pace of deterioration in the quality of life for the people and families inhabiting those unquestionably forgotten regions of society.

2. The central task of constructing an identity

Within the scope of those conditions, we believe that regardless of whether the options seeking to benefit indigenous groups are of an economic, social, political or educational nature, and irrespective of whether they proceed from the State, the private sector, or from within the indigenous groups themselves, their central issue must be the construction or reconstruction of an identity on a group, community, family and personal level.

We are not talking of »restoring« or »recovering« an ideal and pure past destroyed by the forces of modernization, but rather of creating and/or fortifying a manifold and complex process of collective practices that guarantee autonomy of the group in the relation of its members to nature, that promote the creation of democratic and egalitarian social structures within the group, and that ensure the group the strength to negotiate the terms of their mutual relationship and points of contact with society. In short, what we are talking about is the collective creation of a group identity based on recognition of its own unique and specific nature.

From our perspective, an effort of this nature must: 1) recognize the imperative bilingual and bicultural nature of the sociocultural praxis of the indigenous groups in our country as a product of strategies of survival and resistance in the face of the contemporary forms of economic, political, social and cultural penetration in national society; 2) assume that cultural identity is not concerned with a »mythical, magic, pure and essential indigenous world«, but is rather a concept created through a sociocultural process that is both dynamic and contemporary as well as historical and specific; 3) view the creation of an identity as a matter pertaining to the group and requiring community work, collective decision-making, and the progressive construction of projects of resistance and cultural defence; and lastly 4) critically confront the »cultural« risks implicit in the good will of the State and civilian society and the potential or actual tendency for projects or initiatives developed for the benefit of indigenous groups to become »undertakings to colonize«, »missions to civilize« or »zealous attempts to introduce modernization«.

3. Education as a project of resistance and cultural defence

Let us examine the realm of education. What is involved? The search for opportunities to create an identity as a project of resistance and cultural defence within the framework of structured and delineated educational processes of a system.

From our perspective, it concerns the establishment of connections between the logic of the educational processes and the forms, elements and cultural processes of the social group so as to incite significant and relevant learning that will serve to foster self-recognition and appreciation as a point of departure to form an identity.

In this sense, we believe that one of the central questions in the options for indigenous education must be the development of a manifold and complex process in which as comprehensively and completely as possible, the learners can progressively »unveil« the elements of their own culture — for themselves as well as for others — with a spreading enthusiasm that becomes an act of education and a turning point for creating not an idealized identity, but rather an autonomous sociocultural praxis that assumes its own forms of group existence and action, and creates other forms to govern its relationship with the remainder of society.

Within this framework, why shouldn't it be possible to conceive a system of rural education that is not merely a rural version of the present system of formal urban education? Such a system could provide for a subsystem of basic and intermediate level indigenous education, the primary level of which could assume the task of socializing the children on the basis of the cultural characteristics of the social group and of the community nucleus, teaching the children the basics for mastering their own language as well as the common language (in the sense of making them their own), and in so doing, to give them the tools they need to speak and express themselves in »their world«. Why shouldn't it be possible for such a subsystem to provide for secondary-level education dedicated to strengthening the formation of a specific and uniquely indigenous cultural identity within the setting of national society, so as to recover and regain esteem for the sociocultural praxis of the group, and connect the educational process to »the state of being historical and specific« by verbalizing the problems of reality? And finally, why shouldn't it be possible to conceive that on higher levels this subsystem could maintain its links to the system of rural education, where besides being concerned with technical and productive training, as well as the promotion of development, it could have as its objective a focus on the reality that would cultivate cultural pride in the students while strengthening their mutual roots? The chance to attain such multi-faceted professional qualifications implies the potential for stimulating and sustaining processes of development by turning out young professionals committed to the cause of their people.

4. The design of models for bilingual-bicultural education

Translating the proposed goals into models for education of a bilingual-bicultural nature and converting those models into concrete educational projects to our mind requires a review of educational theory and practice on three levels in particular: that of pedagogical approaches, that of concrete educational strategies, and that of defining the universe of the social group of the region in question — their themes, their culture, all that is peculiar to them — as well as the psychological and social development of the learners.

This is important. Educational approaches are often inclined to be a »leap in the dark« insofar as concerns aims and objectives on the one hand and the course of studies on the other. If the aims and objectives define the goal to be achieved through the process of education, the organization and structure of that process must specify precisely how that is to be accomplished.

Seen in this light, general pedagogical approaches define the »ways of doing« education. We can extend this to say that they open up possibilities to the educator and the learner insofar as concerns their mutual relationship for »ways of being«, as well as for »ways of building« the teaching and learning space (not just in a physical sense). The specific educational strategies, in turn, define and delimit the educational processes within the scope of a particular interest: that of educating in a bicultural and bilingual context, with the specific intention of sustaining and nurturing in the learners their own identity as part of the national identity.

Finally, the thematic universe defines the particular cultural fields of knowledge, values, aptitudes and skills that should be the product of the educational process, and that serve as a »screen« or »sieve« to »sift« (sort, filter, order) the general knowledge as well as the national and universal values to be fostered.

Based on our experience at CESDER, in order to design a model of bilingual-bicultural education, we propose four general pedagogical approaches, six concrete educational strategies, and at least eight cultural fields to formulate the thematic universe. In our opinion, a selective combination of those levels can provide a potential »pedagogical matrix« to design concrete educational projects in an indigenous setting.

Pedagogical approaches

- to generate significant and relevant learning by creating global educational situations relating to »the historical and specific state of being of the learners as individuals, as families, as a community and as a social group«;

- to construct processes of language mastery (of personal language and the common language), as a form of developing the ability to »express my world in words«, »put the world in words«, and »to express myself in the world«;

- to alternate education with production so as to create and renew forms of relating to nature that fortify production capacity on both the family and the community level;

- to create opportunities for living in an educational community to promote participation, collective work and solidarity and to create daily practices of democracy and respect among people regardless of sex or age.

Concrete educational strategies

- Concentration on the mastery of the learner's own language and of the common language as the focus of forming an identity; This strategy seeks to help learners to develop several ways of expressing their identity by recovering their own language as well as by mastering the common language (the national language). By developing their ability to express themselves in their own revalued language, and by mastering the common language, the learners become social subjects capable of expressing their reality and of projecting their hopes.

It is a strategy in which the point of reference for the process of education is always the strengthening of the ability of expression through writing, the spoken word, theater, dance, physical expression.

- Education as a process of systematic recovery and critical revaluation of elements of the learner's own culture; Inherent to the educational processes in this strategy is systematic activity which helps the learner identify and develop an appreciation for the socio-cultural praxis of the group, and the elements of the autonomous culture as well as of the acquired culture (materials, symbols, emotions, knowledge and organization).

- Linking the educational process to the socio-cultural context of the community and group; This strategy seeks a school open to the community and dedicated to recognizing and seizing opportunities for education when and where they occur in community life, while being sensitive to the rhythms of the community's relationship with nature.

- Bringing the network through which popular knowledge is transmitted into the educational process; This strategy seeks, albeit fragmentarily, to reproduce the dynamics of the network: it is the mother and the grandmother who teach the students to work with wool; the specialists who teach them the names and use of the plants; the fathers who teach them to work with clay and palm leaves.

- Dealing with technological knowledge. This strategy recognizes the indigenous relationship to nature in their productive practices, and seeks to incorporate specialized technical knowledge which is beneficial and appropriate to improve production.

- Promoting collective work; This strategy seeks to convert school into a place for fostering the community values of solidarity, responsibility, participation and collective work.

The »cultural fields« of the thematic universe

In addition to the pedagogical approaches and the educational strategies which outline the particular intentions of bilingual-bicultural education, it is necessary to propose a thematic universe defined on the basis of specific cultural fields, namely:

- **popular knowledge**; This cultural field provides the links for making connections within the standard subject content in the areas of natural and technical sciences at the various learning levels.

- **the body of knowledge and values stored in the memory and history of the community and group**; This cultural field serves to weave local knowledge and values into the context of the national historical processes, and to place those processes in a local perspective.

- **recognition of community and group reality**; This cultural field covers how the community and the group perceive physical space in terms of geography and the ecosystem, and how their perceptions in those respects relate to the standard subject content of those areas. It addition, it encompasses their perception of the realm of collective experience (tasks, celebrations, assemblies, ceremonies), and the relation thereof to the standard content of the social sciences.

- **identity**; There are three cultural fields relating to this aspect:

  a) the examination of personal identity;

  b) redefinition of collective cultural identity based on learning to appreciate the elements of local culture;

c) the body of knowledge and values from which national identity is derived (history, geography, civics,...).

- and lastly, two cultural fields relating to **language**:recovering local oral tradition and acquiring a command of the common language in order for the learner to express himself among others, and to give expression to his own ways of being and his aspirations.

5. Practical experience in bilingual-bicultural education: a project implemented by CESDER in basic education at the intermediate level

Once the educational model has been defined, attention turns to its implementation. The Center is engaged in basic education at the intermediate level, and the project in question was initiated scarcely two years ago. It is a project in the process of construction that is subject to constant revision and redefinition.

At present, the syllabus for secondary bilingual-bicultural learning is divided into five workshops, namely »expression«, »numeracy«, »community activities«, »sciences«, and »agriculture, animal raising and handicrafts«. These workshops correspond more or less to the standard curriculum in each of the various learning levels.

We are still in the process of working on an attempt to reclassify and select the standard program of the intermediate level so as to define the learning content and establish the minimum material to be covered in each of the areas dealt with in the various workshops in line with the dynamic structure of the learning situations.

Our educational process involves the creation of learning situations on a periodic basis. Following the approach of popular education, we select generative themes from the »cultural fields« of the

Thematic Universe, and develop learning situations around them in three phases of group interaction: During the first phase, the learners formulate thematic focuses prompted by »trigger activities«, and the teachers define the »points of introduction« to the learning situation, and organize the curriculum for each respective theme.

The second phase is dedicated to »resolving« the learning situation through the process of field study or documentary investigation, or by conducting defined experiments. During this stage the material selected by the teachers for the workshops is developed.

The third and final phase involves systematization (always a written exercise) and presentation of conclusions (in plastic or graphic form, through physical expression, ...), and the learners are returned to their communities in order to apply what they have learned.

The school is organized as an educational community. The community holds weekly assemblies to discuss and evaluate the productive work and community life. The school community has a coordinating council comprising students and a teacher. The council meets on a weekly basis to discuss and keep themselves informed on matters concerning community life. The common responsibilities of the students in working the farm and the household duties involved in managing their own community life are organized through a system of teamwork. Responsibilities and functions in connection with stocks and supplies, tools, the sale of products to the families, weekly guard-duty etc. are assigned at the assembly of the educational community.

The school seeks to remain open to the community. The school rooms are shared with the community's women's organization. They participate in the productive activities of the farm and have a room for their rural children's center. In addition, CESDER houses a Center for Community Education for adult education programs sponsored by the National Institute for Adult Education (INEA).

The productive work is carried out collectively on a small ecologically integrated farm. The produce from the farm is shared with the women's organization and used in the kitchen of the center. In addition there are workshops for carpentry, sewing and baking.

Daily life at CESDER's resident educational and production center for secondary-level students in Yahuitlalpan is rich and complete.

Those of us who knew CESDER when it was founded nine years ago — even before the bilingual-bicultural project was initiated, and who are still part of the organization today, share the satisfaction of watching how the community's indigenous youngsters who attend the school grow, and of seeing how they have grown, in an on-going process, to consider the center their own sphere.

6. Conclusion

We are convinced that in the current context of modernization of the national system of education, innovative approaches that are being realized can be a fountain of ideas for revising syllabuses at every level.

This does not mean that innovative local experiences can be extrapolated and compared within the complex framework of variables that a national education system presupposes. Experiences of that nature have their dynamics, they are located in very specific contexts and develop from very distinct group conditions. Nevertheless, we believe that certain elements can be validated through testing, and that they will be able to serve as points of pedagogical reference for a broad educational system.

What we are trying to implement at CESDER is a model that we consider feasible. It is not an easy task. Our efforts involve our own personal convictions as well as those resulting from our teamwork. In this sense, we are trying, through our work, to offer an affirmative response to one of the questions posed by H Giraux in his »Critical Pedagogy«: »Is it possible for education to be a positive project in which learners can imagine a future where the fulfillment of their hopes is within reach, where liberty is the object of dreams, struggles and eventual victories?«

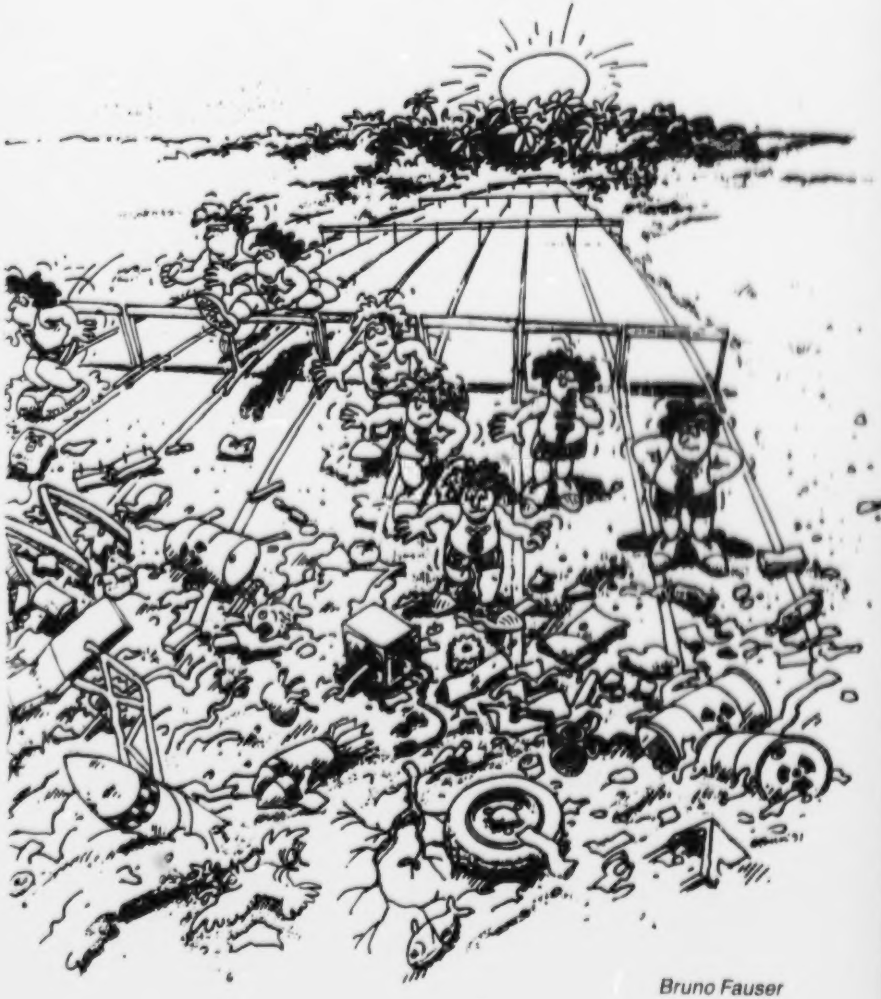
We believe it is possible. At least we are trying to make it so.

Choices. The Human Development Magazine. »First Nations« Speak out. June 1993.
This journal is published by the United Nations Development Programme. One of the principal themes of this edition is the International Year of World's Indigenous People. The journal is available in Arabic, English, French, Italian, Japanese and Spanish.
If you are interested, please contact:
UNDP, One United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, Division of Public Affairs, DC-1900

People's Rights and Security
The Society for International Development is preparing its 21st World Conference on »People's Rights and Security: Sustainable Development. Strategies for the 21st Century« in Mexico City, Mexico, 6th - 9th April 1994.
A preliminary programme is available from:
SID Secretariat, Palazzo Ciciltà del Lavoro, 00144 Rome, Italy.

ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION



Bruno Fauser

Joseph Ki-Zerbo is a Burkinabo historian and author of the well-known historical work »Histoire de L'Afrique Noire. D'Hier à Demain«.

Joseph Ki-Zerbo

To move fast? Yes, but where to?

This century is rushing to its end, like in a bewildered sprint for an olympic medal. But should a medal be awarded? This century has been marked by two world wars, scientific genocides in concentration camps and gas chambers, trade of arms, including the atomic bomb and chemical weapons, etc. It is true that it has also been the century of penicillin, of organs transplants, of space conquest, of the exploration of the living cell, of telecommunication miracles...

We are told by the Japanese that from 1991, people will be able to get a message in their own language which is phoned in a language that they do not know, thanks to simultaneous telephonic interpretation.

We thus understand the mixture of promethean exaltation and eiled anguish which torment the most materially advanced people just as in the year 1000, when people were expecting both the triumphal return of Christ and the apocalyptic catastrophes that were to accompany it.

Nevertheless, in the south of the planet, billions of people (the majority of mankind) are not aware of the year 2000, partly because they live according to a different calendar, but also because their sole concern is survival. What does the year 2000 mean for the Bengal landless peasant, for the Descamisado Des Favellas Youth of Rio, for the childless peasant of the bare soil of Mali? 1992 does not mean much either; even if they have to bear the consequences of the big European market. Even if at the frontiers of that market, as at the banquet in the Malthus parable, they are being forced back more and more harshly, under the gargle of formulae of »internationalization of economies« as well as events such as landing on the moon, mundial of football, television series such as Dallas and Dynasty, and even the Coca-cola decuminism. Internationalization or appropriation of the world? Internationalization from where? In whose interests? To reach what goal?

Three wrong attitudes

Even if it is still possible to entertain some dreams, three wrong approaches must be proscribed. First, the temptation of extrapolating the present through a linear projection, through a sort of transfer, line for line, of the present circumstances into the future. Even prophets did not indulge in that exercise, because their role was to denounce the present and to announce better times. Even the people in power do not take that risk either, since everywhere the situation is bad, and it does not have to be extrapolated. Moreover, history has proved that it does comprise a lot of surprises. The upheavals that took place in the East prove that in the most sophisticated totalitarian system, the future is only very partially the product of the present. The computer only analyzes the data that it has been fed with.

Well then, the number of the future's parameters are beyond any imagination. The complex configurations of life, which can never be comprehended by any attempt to justify their »historical reason« are even more numerous than the myriads of galaxies.

Another aberrant approach is the retroactive extrapolation, whereby the past, the »terra cognita«, the sure ground that comprises no surprise is considered as the answer. This approach is even more absurd than the first, because, as the saying goes, »the human being is more a product of his epoch than of his father«. The video cassettes give us only a little picture of our ancestors' living conditions. In many ways, the historical evolution is no return voyage. That does not justify the equally wrong and third approach of moving forward without taking the past into consideration. The media are pushing us in that direction, by sparing us the asperities and harshness of the present, and by feeding us with moisty mirages so as to propel us into the gravity of a phontasmatic future where everyone can »win«.

Well, can everyone really win? What about those who do not participate to the competition for the future? What about those who participate with no support or without having been associated to the formulation of the game's rules? After all, does the dream itself not constitute another game?

In reality, the antidote to the deviations that we have just indicated is part and parcel of the authentic historical consciousness. Making history is a three phased engine. But one may say that none of those phases exists in itself. The past has already changed into realities that are difficult to grasp. The present is the bugacious moment which more or less reflects the past and the future. As for the future, the poets tell us that it »belongs to nobody«. Only the historical consciousness enables us to couple up the recovered past with the apprehended present, so as to project ourselves into a future considered in accordance with our dreams and ambitions. The historical consciousness is the matrix of history, limited in time and space; but it enables one to get free of that time and that space; and even of any other time and space. Thus, the sound historical consciousness is the real mother of progress. If that is true, it can enable us to imagine a future of mankind which is not a simple omiric hallucination.

We may be tempted to imagine the evolution of mankind as a spindle from a single origin, culminating in the present global integration, after the few dozens of millenia of conflicts and burgbaris. But does the physical coherence constitute cohesion and union? Science is almost monopolized by the north; and despite the consumption of the same commodities the inhabitants of Mexico and Soweto have little in common with the inhabitants of the posh residential areas of Nice and Los Angeles. With regard to energy consumption, the consumption of 300 million North Americans is equivalent to that of 14 billions Sahelians, and the gap is growing.

That is why it is more advisable to consider history as a vast bouquet of flowers that blossoms through the turmoils of evolution in order to gradually produce a nuetitude of flowers rooted in the same human compost. For that goal to be achieved, mankind have to master knowledge, property and power, like it has mastered rivers and wild animals.

Knowledge first

In the East as well as in the West, the science of modernization and socialism that called itself scientific has been kept as mentrual and universal realities, as the software, a reflection of human progress. The collapse of scientific socialism should not be considered as the end of history, but rather as an inducement to seek more knowledge. Indeed, knowledge itself is neither a liberation nor a redeemer. What is annoying is that science in itself does not exist. Science, which is reflected in history, has the ambiguous face of the Jamus god, the ambivalent stems of the »tree of knowledge of happiness and unhappiness« planted in the Garden of Eden. Such was also the case of the African god, Echon, principle of change, of perpetual questioning, of the mind's stir and unsated desire. Science is at one and the same time a tool, an arm and unquenched thirst. It is certainly not a store of finished products, nor a battle won over nature or a prerogative of one continent or one race. The renewed knowledge will restore man in nature and nature in man. The injunction of Descartes of »taking possession of nature« through science, the echo of the Genesis divine principle (misinterpreted?) should be reviewed. Or, then, we shall have to remember that man himself being part and parcel (even partially above) of nature, it will be necessary for him to become his own master before any attempt is made to extend his control.

On the other hand, we must reject for ever the consideration of human beings as beasts of burden or even as the »most precious« capital. Such a transformation of knowledge must also reintegrate all the forms of human knowledge, and not limit the comprehension of reality to the sole way of the »rational« and mathematical reasoning. Knowledge must penetrate the human being as a whole through the pores of his mind and »heart«, as said by the former Egyptians and the bible. For the Pharaohs' contemporaries, the Goddess Maat was both the principle of the cosmic equilibrium and regularity, the mistress of truth and guarantor of justice, morals and law. That Egyptian Goddess represented by a frail young lady should be the patroness of the 21st century. Indeed, science without historical consciousness is a sterile forum, a torrent, a wild and useless bull. The so called »pure« sciences will have to be axed to mankind development and cosmic space. Otherwise, science will not escape the various manipulations, including the manipulations of the »pure sciences« in order to create the gas chambers... The priority should be give to human and flexible sciences.

On the other hand, it is necessary to get rid of the shocking scandal where 60% of financial and human resources are allocated to sciences and technologies of mass destruction weapons. I dream of a world in which modernity, liberated from the unilateral and unidimentional sciences would be redifined as the process by which each culture integrates its past objective reality of its future through its own heritage and the inputs that it gets from outside. There is no real knowledge transferred as an absolute finished product. Any given knowledge is a semi-finished product and even a raw material for other knowledge. The quality of each type of honey reflects its environment and each people should be allowed to enjoy at least the same rights as bees; i.e. to look for flowers, starting from those of their own environment. Thus, instead of science being like a river that consumes its affluents, it will become an ocean receiving all the rivers of the world. Today, 75% of the world trade of technologies is in the hands of the OECD countries and controlled by transnational companies. In the interest of knowledge itself, there is a need to integrate all the approaches and »to let all the flowers blossom«. Thus, as we went from civilization to civilizations, it will be necessary to move from development to development.

Property

But we should not dream to the point of forgetting that science has become an appropriate product, a trade commodity. More and more, the wealth of nations consists of the creation and management of information, rather than of raw materials and production of goods. Well then, that sector is even more monopolized than metallurgy, chemical and other polluting enterprises which are being »transferred« more and more to the countries of tthe south.

The 20th century has been marked by the exponential growth of goods, but also of the poor people, i.e. of people deprived of goods. It would require one hundred and fifty years of efforts for the average of the poor people to reach 50% of the current level of the rich people's income, and the gap is widening from 20 times in 1960, the rich people's GNP per head was 45 times higher than in 1985.

Is it possible to wait for the 22nd century and its possible implorations? How can we face such prospects which are aggravated by the differential population growth, by the debt repayment of the south and the reduction of the price for raw materials? There is no way that the gap can be narrowed from the bottom; but it is a matter of realizing that »he who eats alone strangles himself«.

The market economy has got virtues which are constantly magnified. But the hunt for profit also often brings about the waste of material and human resources, so much that the concept of global profit (ecological and human, and not only financial and corporate) must replace the paradigm of profitability. Profitability for whom? For what? The state of companies is not the only thermometer for the state of a country. And the protected or subsidized reproduction of the North should no longer constitute the scabrous complement of the structural underproduction of the south condemned to survive on the aid drug which often ensures survival at the cost of dignity.

The first liberation in the field of knowledge will thus consist of helping the south to produce, by encouraging them to establish settlements based on a structural division of labour through a controlled market. Only such a new global scenario (imago mundi) will transform the countries in the South into real partners, given the continental economic mammoth of the north (North Asia, Europe, North America). Only by overhauling the world economic and monetary system will the majority of the world (75% today, and 90% tomorrow) gain access to the market presented as a panacea, and yet inaccessible under the present circumstances. To produce more, better and independently in the south; and to consume less in the north which feeds hundreds of millions of animals more and better than beings in the South. To improve the standard of living of the people in the south first so that they may opt for smaller families.

But give to everyone the taste of life as the best marvellous present which mankind is both the guardian of and responsible for. To produce the information — training that generates goods and services, but also develops the individual and collective interlocutor without knowledge whom knowledge cannot be transformed into a concrete reality. In short, to produce good exchange commodities, without destroying the values of their utilization and that minimum of gratuitousness without which the silos and supermarkets contain everything except the most essential ingredient, what one may call the »salt of the earth«. Opening the market to the South, liberalizing in the East, socializing it in the West. Indeed, in order to avoid a situation where factories spoil the nature, it is necessary to proscribe more factories that mutilate mankind itself. Such costs must be more and more computed and included in the cost factors.

As for the traditional structures and procedures for social security and taking care of the weak, they must be preserved, adapted and strengthened. In yesteryear Africa, there were no abandoned orphans and old people, there was no shut out sick person. Today, income has rendered all those misfits more vulnerable. Children and the youth must be particularly priviledged by the intergeneration responsibility, in accordance with the magnificent African maxim: »In reality, this land does not belong to us. We got it from our ancestors, and we borrow it from our grandchildren who are its real owners.« All in all, there is need to produce as much sense as goods. We must produce a new accountability which integrates indicators and dividends of liberty and justice.

Power

But for that, the problem of power must be reviewed in other terms. The hunger for power has become pervasive, and violence is the order of the day within the two big ideological camps that dominate the world. Wealth is often a product of an implicit and structural class or nomenclaturative violence. The alliance of the propertied classes of the North and South strengthens the status quo. How can that alliance be dismembered? Can nonviolence destroy the violence which combines knowledge and property? To start with, it is necessary to prove that because of knowledge the arbitrary and sadistic power has no future. When it is not sustained by a minimum of approval by the distressed, the zoological power be it male, patriarchal, protective, state controlled or hegemonic, it is not a power but a domination built on flimsy grounds. Power is a special commodity; the more it is shared, the more it proliferates and becomes stronger.

As for the Nation-state born in the 19th century and produced poisonous flowers and toxic fruits, it has to be exorcised: by overtaking it at the grassroots, by empowering to the maximum the grassroot communities; as well as at the higher levels towards the international structure like the European countries are doing today. Such a double over-taking can only promote justice and peace. Like health, peace is the most fundamental asset; it is the asset that enables people to enjoy all other assets. Peace constitutes people's health without being overpacifist; disarmament and dismantlement of the violence culture should lead to peace and prosperity for all. The stocks of arms sold to the South by the North are drugs of homicidal violence.

This is how Angola has the sad record of mutilated children due to the civil war. Torture which degrades the torturer even more than the victim must be eradicated as a shameful disease of civilization.

All spheres of social life are subject to power. Hence, the problem of population explosion is linked to the power of choice. The poor parents of a big family often have no choice. The determination of quotas for access to the Northern Hemisphere and the legal and physical barriers against invasion by the poor devils from the South are quasi useless, especially at a time when the South is wide open to goods, information, experts as well as ideologies and tourists from the North. The high birth-rate in the South proves the fact that its people are still subjected to internal and external powers. The simple transfer of contraceptives cannot in itself resolve that contradiction; the consumption of the world minority well off must be reduced; and that will facilitate the reduction of the number of consumers in the South.

There cannot be a healthy and balanced population without development and there cannot be any endogenous development without democracy. »One cannot shave someone in his/her absence«, says an African maxim. Nothing can be achieved in the field of population or development without the participation of the majority in the power banquet. Such is perhaps the new paradigm that intergrates and overtakes the paradigm of resources banquet which has prevailed since Malthus.

All in all, the good use of knowledge, property and power at the global level can only be achieved through a new type of development. It is not a matter of indicators. These are only established facts, measurements which should not be considered as the reality per se of development. The time-span used by a 100 meters run does not reflect the development of the said sportsman but an indication which does not for instance indicate whether the person involved is a drug, and therefore in a state of real underdevelopment. This is where the cuetunal parameter comes in as an ineffable index of the objective realities (software) of the overall components (hardware) of development. Considered within the framework of consciousness and values cueture has been neglected and reduced to a simple facilitator of economic development. Yet as the key canopy of existence, social culture is the indispensible filter that selects and explains all what is most related to consciousness in all spheres of life: sexuality, fashion, technologies, alimentation, education, artistic creativeness...

Culture constitutes a priority with regard to one of the fundamental problems that will again put a mark on the 21st century. For some people, our salvation is to be found in the universality of sciences, techniques, democracy as they prevail in the »advanced« countries, as if the university was a free for all restaurant where meals are served free of charge. The universality resembles an ordinary restaurant where everyone consumes according to what he/she pays; or again to a Spanish guest-house where one eats what he/she has brought. Yes indeed, we are all inevitably part of the universality: yet everyone must avoid getting swallowed by it. The real universality is the one where every person comes in as an actor, with his/her specific contribution and role to play, and not as an anonymous walker-on; unless we are chased out of the play as useless parasites of the garbage of history.

After the fossilization of the world under the two super-powers, it is good for the globe to blossom into a multi-polar constellation. Unified by technologies, let the globe reflect the sumptuous palate of cultures and society's choices. It would indeed loathe to see a situation where those poles coincide solely with the centres of material wealth, which would inadequetely reflect the transcendent essence of the human being. Those poles must become more and more the sites of social culture where people mend their ways, improve themselves and become refined by getting rid of the slags and excrements of anti-human and sub-human behaviour. It is only then that each culture will become a hot cinder within a shared fire.

From Awareness to Action

This is the title of the Evaluation of the International Task Force on Literacy Experience for Future Development. There are quite a good number of lessons to be learned from the report which was written by Ravindra Dave, the former Director of the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg. The report is published by the International Council for Adult Education in Toronto with support from the German Foundation for International Development. For a copy please write to the:

International Council for Adult Education, 720 Bathurst St., Suite 500,
Toronto, Canada 588-5725.

What role does the state play in the development and execution of development programmes? Based on an historical analysis of political developments in Zaire, the author proves through the example of farmers from the Idiofa Zone, that development programmes dictated from above are condemned to failure particularly when the interests of the state do not necessarily accord with the interests of the people. These programmes can only be successful when the people take their interests in their own hands.

Nkoso Lowola

The Idiofa peasant's participation in rural development — a lawsuit against the state

> *»What is prepared for the child,*
> *it is his/her mother who eats it.«*
> A Nkutshu proverb

Introduction

Considering the poor returns obtained so far from the peasants trust in the rural development, I decided, during the last year of my degree course, to revisit the concept of state. As a framework of analysis and reflection, I opted for the following theme:

»State paternalism as an obstacle to peasant participation in rural development, the role zone case.«

The objective was to focus on the fact that the state's paternalization generates lethargy among the populations, while, real development requires that it should be effected by the people concerned.

I undertook to find out whether that paternalism could have led the Kole peasants into a state of passivity, of expectations that could in the end have paralyzed any initiative in the process of the expectation that the state would finally respond and satisfy their needs.

A number of them stated that the overall realities actually constitute a lawsuit against the state.

Nevertheless, the objective stituation of the IDIOFA Zone is rather the opposite of that of the Kole area.

Taking the above elements into account, I deemed it necessary to find out why the Idiofa peasant was more committed to the process of development, as compared to his Kole counterpart who expects everything from the state.

Working approach

Thanks to our experience, almost 10 years with ISDR-MBED/IDIOFA, (including my theoretical/practical activities in the area), as well as my contributions at the peasant co-operative meetings and peasant training seminars, I gathered the necessary elements for the formulation of this article which comprises these major sections.

The first section is devoted to the nature of the state, and it examines how far concerns correspond to those of the peasants. As for the second, it comprises the experience of the Idiofa Zone in matters concerning rural development. And finally, in the third section, we portray some explanatory elements related to the participation of the Idiofa people in its development process; finally some concluding remarks.

The nature of the state

Definition

It is not easy to define the concept of state. In order to avoid the difficulties implied, we prefer to define through its sociological elements.

The state is thus defined as a sum total including the population, a territory and a political power. The least that one may say of this simplistic definition is that it forges a harmonious unity between the state's components and that it does not take into account the relations of mistrust or conflict between the rulers and the world.

Indeed, the objective reality is that today the state can hardly identify itself with the ruled within the peasants world. For the matters, the state is the ruler, the policeman or the civil servant. It is no longer surprising to hear, at the village level, such statements as »the state or Bula-Matadi is among us«; and one immediately realizes that what is implied is that some administrative officials or policemen have arrived in the area. So, Zarathoustra was right when he stated the following: »The state lies, and it does so by spreading the following lie: ME, THE STATE, I AM THE PEOPLE«.

As a matter of fact, the state is synonymous with power. Thus, the concept of the moral personality of the state is only an incomplete or rather false view of what the state is, but which expresses simply the excess of a normative and moral nationality i e. that in a given society the state is the symbol of order and harmony. That concept tends to hide the idea of power in the hands of a minority called rulers.

It is obvious that in a society, the person who has the power and the person who is subjected to that power constitute the unity of opposites. Given their different basis, their interests might not be the same. Checks and balances are necessary.

Nature and functions of the state

The nature and functions of the state depend on the type of the political regime. This is so because one cannot understand the reality of state only through its legal form or its social philosophy. Indeed, the difference between the legal form as defined in a constitution and the practical reality of a state is often quite big.

In the case of Zaire, the regime which prevailed between 1960 and 1965 was the liberal type. However, the government did not have time to establish an efficient political and economic programme, because it was at all times shaken by successions, mutinies etc...

The regime which has dominated the political life of Zaire is the totalitarian regime, 1965 - 1990. It is a regime of very high concentration of powers, reflected in monopartism. The rulers powers over the citizens are quasi absolute. They accede to power through non democratic procedures, coup d'etat, or through stage managed elections where the candidate is elected with 99.9% of votes. The state's organs (the parliament, the judiciary, the government) serve as instruments to legitimize the will of the ruling person.

The people have no control over the state on the power. What the populations can get, by virtue of their rights, is considered as a gift or favour. Thus, the population has learnt to alienate their sovereignty and to praise the »perspicacious and magnanimous guide«.

Speeches and slogans prevail over concrete activities for the national progress. Promises of development are plenty, but the reality is different. The development that people expect is never effected. Has the Idiofa peasant realized that he could expect nothing from such a regime? Was their massive support to the Mule lost rebellion of 1967 and to the Kasongo rebellion in 1979, a naive gesture or an appropriate way of disappointing the sense of direction of a state which does not represent their interests?

The Idiofa experience

As a sub-system of the global political system of Zaire, the Idiofa system has gone through a development that is nearly similar to the evolution of the Zaire political reality. We have so far considered three major periods:

1. 1960 - 1967

This period is marked by the initial formation of peasant's organization within the Idiofa zone. Within the same framework, the establishment of the »Savoir-Vivre« movement in the Laba region centre should be noted. That movement included in its plan of action the essential issues related to the area's development. Some of its concrete achievements, through the peasants initiative, include dispensaries, carpentry and tailoring workshops, habitat scale improvement, small farming, agriculture mill etc.

It should be noted that this movement came into existence as a response to the difficult socio-economic conditions which characterized Zaire, then Congo, in 1960. A group of peasants deemed it necessary to act rather than wait for better days promised by the unscrupulous politicians.

In 1964, the movement, which had very ambitious objectives, disappeared from the scene following the Mulelist Rebellion. During the same year, 1964, a new movement called »Progrès Populaire« was born at Mokala in the northern part of the Zone. According to its promoters, who are still alive, the movement's aim was to counter the development and the (ill) effect of the Mulelist Rebellion in the Northern part of the Zone.

The »Progrès Populaire« Movement inspired quite a lot the formation of other movements, because of the relevancy of the issues considered in its plan of action.

The element common to these movements was the search for solutions to the problems generated by both the hard years of independence and the Mulelist Rebellion. Survival was the major aim. Members contributions were the only source of funding in their initial phase of existence.

2. 1967 - 1985

This period is the period of the radicalization of the »Mobotu Revolution«, which is characterized by a very high centralization of power. On 19 July 1977, the state established the Department of Rural Development to implement rural (peasant) development programmes.

At the local level, in Idiofa, the Diocése took over the peasants rural development initiatives. Following that, in 1968, a new structure, the »Développement Progrès Populaire« a coordination agency for all development projects under the auspices of the Idiofa Diocese, was created. The said agency was as centralized as the MPR, Party-State, with a huge bureaucracy.

Subsequently, there was, between 1972 and 1983 an increase in terms of the number of livestock co-operatives, of agricultural productions, etc.

Consequently, the regular maintenance of roads, bridges and vehicles, the acquisition of new veterinary products, rural animation became a serious problem to the management. And finally, the peasants were excluded from the circuit, and came to consider the DPP (Développement Progrès Populaire) as a technical service of the Diocese rather than a coordination agency of peasant initiatives.

The creation of the ISDR-MBEO, in 1981, facilitated the task of the DPP within the framework of the rural animation, especially within the immediate surroundings of the ISDR.

The omnipresent reality of the uncertain nature of foreign aid, as well as those years of economic crisis, convinced the Diocese Officials of the necessity of establishing self-funding structures through the marketing of products bought from the peasants. The creation of COMELIN, a non-profit making association, the aim and objectives of which are to buy and transform the peasants products and revalorize the said agricultural and farm produce and by-products etc. responded to that need.

In the field, the DPP displayed a stand of collaboration with the state which was characterized by exactions and impositions of plants and development programmes. Alongside the state, it is also worth indicating the presence of foreign NGOs such as OXFAM, PROCAR, PPF, INADES, etc.

Because of the activities of all those organizations, the peasants lost control of their affairs, and became organized by them. As a proverb says: »What is prepared for the child is very often eaten by the mother.«

3. 1985 - 1991

Following the economic effects of the 80s, the Authorities were forced, in 1985, to proclaim a seven year social period in order to calm down the fears of the peasants.

At Idiofa, COMBILIM, which had launched its activities, faced thereafter, operational problems. It could not balance its books and that was due to its isolation from the producer peasants to the competition of other buyers, to the distrust of the peasants who thought they were exploited by the DPP and COMBILIM.

That was the alert signal of the collapse of all the Diocese attempts to organize/manage the peasants. At the meeting of IFWAZONDO, under the theme of faith and development, the clergy and the church secular members agreed on the DPP's failure in the management of development projects. The same conclusion was confirmed in 1989 by a Misereor Delegation, which had to evaluate the impact of their funding at the peasants level.

Following this exercise, the Diocese's undertaking could no longer be trusted by the Donors and by the peasants. The North representatives in particular, thought the DPP was a structure for enriching the centre and exploiting the North.

Given the present trend of democracy, the now enlightened peasants are organizing themselves in various sectors. They intend to deal directly with funding agencies.

It looks like the current restructuration of the DPP aims at encouraging the peasants to pursue this new orientation.

As it has just been indicated, the Idiofa peasant is fully aware of the situation. Even the people in the North have come to realize the need for development and they are implementing the said objective. Their efforts are now devoted to various fields of their area's development; road maintenance, marketing of their products, farming at all levels, continuing adult education, establishment of a veterinary chemist shop etc.

What is the basis of that commitment?

4. Some explanatory elements

A number of elements may explain the commitment of the Idiofa people with regard to the development of their community. On the basis of the documentary text, the political, economic and cultural elements were considered as the most essential.

1. Political element

The political disturbances that prevailed after independence and during the Mulelist Rebellion rendered the peasants more and more responsible. They became aware of the fact that they could expect nothing from a political regime which did not represent their interests. After all, didn't Japan, the ex-USSR get themselves organized after crisis and wars?

2. Economic element

The 1960 - 1965 economic crisis which brought about the insufficiency of food products, pharmaceutical products and the lack of training facilities may also explain that positive behaviour with regard to the establishment of development centres.

The particular attention accorded to farming, agriculture and fish-rearing may justify this point of view further.

3. Cultural element

The initiative of those peasants is characterized by their concern to train themselves in order to improve their living conditions. Their interest in the DPP and ISDR-MBEO rural animation proves that. That contributed to their conscientization, despite the state's and DPP's control. These people's sense of solidarity and initiative which slowly did stimulate other groups should be quite appreciated. The combination of those various factors facilitated the establishment of development structures within the peasant world.

Before concluding this paper, let us all together consider the following elements:

After independence, and the Mulelist Rebellion, the people of Idiofa mobilized themselves for their survival. They all actively participated in that exercise, because they felt part and parcel of that organization of which they were both the subject and object.

Later on, when the state established its rural development services, it made the peasants the tool of its development policy. By so doing, it deprived the peasants of their real essence, of their human dimension, or in other words of their ability to change the cost of their life without the control and management of the state. Within the same framework, the DPP which made itself its privileged partner, subjected the peasants to a natural law which implies that the most powerful integrates the weakest, organizes them or swallow them at will.

They ignored the fact that any organization which oppresses its members so as to reduce them into docile instruments for its projects will finally find out that in reality, it cannot achieve much with ordinary people, even if they are well intentioned.

Thanks to the accumulated experience, new initiatives are slowly being undertaken.

General conclusion

As we come to the phase of our conclusion, the first question that we should consider is the following: Have the Idiofa peasants achieved their objectives?

In our opinion, a straight forward answer to that question is not easy to find.

At a time when our country is fully involved in the search for a new experience in the political, economic and social fields, there are lessons which can be drawn from the Idiofa peasants at the national level.

- To emphasize the continuing education of peasants, because under-development is mainly due to ignorance. Thus the education of peasants may constitute liberation from the constraints of underdevelopment.

- The democratic spirit should be initiated at the grassroots level; co-operatives, small associations may play the role of promoters of democracy at the grassroots level. That might enable the peasants to comprehend and participate in activities intended to resolve their immediate problems. Furthermore, such an approach will make it possible to avoid the negative effects of paternalism from the so called rural development structures.

The state shall endeavour to develop promotion cadres who will support local private initiatives. That will require a good education policy that takes into account the real needs of the society.

Cases of Higher Technical Institutes such as ISDR should be encouraged. Their aims and objectives should be rather the training of service producers, i.e. technicians who are capable of becoming self-reliant through the establishment of small production units: co-operatives, farming projects, etc. rather than graduates who look for employment within a structure that is ill-prepared for such an eventuality.

Such private initiatives can only be developed and produce the expected results within a conducive political and economic environment. The democratization process in Zaire may as well thus be a welcome event! Indeed the lawsuit against the monopartist state is certainly not a bad process.

This article from Zaire also looks at the role of the state as instrument of power over the people. In the centre is the legal apparatus, under whose injustice the people have to suffer. Both authors introduce in their article a model of »legal education« which would help those concerned to defend themselves against the injustices of the state. Mudumbi B. Mulunda, who has a legal background is Vice Chairman, Board of Directors of GRACE. B. Ntashushwa is Principal Advisor of GRACE.

Mudumbi B. Mulunda / Basheka Ntashushwa

To collaborate in order to promote laws in rural areas and fight injustice

Introduction

»GRACE«, a group of consulting counsellors in indigenous development projects is a non-governmental development organization which operates in North-Kivu, in Eastern Zaire. It is an organization which intends to struggle for the recovery of law and the rehabilitation of peasants.

Within the framework of its philosophy, the GRACE members support the concept that man is both the driving force and finality of development. Therefore, the GRACE members believe that development is a **Sum Total** where the integral blossoming of man must be respected. Moreover, no form of discrimination whatsoever can ever promote development because any disliked, frustrated, mistreated person cannot achieve anything as long as his consciousness is not tranquil'.

Our reflections will be based on ways and means for collaboration between the people, essentially in rural areas, who suffer from injustices, the public law enforcement ministry and the lawyers who defend the masses. The will for collaboration must emanate more especially from magistrates and lawyers who constitute the class of people who know the law. Before going into detail, we find it necessary to define the present state of relations between the three components in Zaire within the prospects of a desired world of justice before considering what they could undertake together for the advent of a real rule of law.

Finally, we wish to indicate clearly that the talk of collaboration is not easy, because the habits of injustice and corruption have been introduced and generalized in the country for more than two decades.

The present state of the three components

The grassroots

The grassroots people constitute more than 70% of the Zairian population, who are both illiterate and destitute. For us, the grassroots people include therefore, all our poor people deprived of justice, our poor people deprived of their rights, our rural masses who after all do constitute the driving force for a well understood integrated development. They are not involved in the nation's decision making, public affairs and legal affairs. Everything goes on as if the peasant has only obligations, and no rights. He is the ready victim of the political administrative and legislative injustices.

Besides the rural world, we also take into account the marginalization of the slums who are omnipresent within the peripheric urban centres in search of a better life and who, sincerely speaking, live in worse conditions than the village folk. In short, the two categories of the population constitute the basis of the poor in need.

The lawyers component

The state's lawyers

This category of persons comprises magistrates of the Public Ministry, Judges and Legal Advisors of Ministries and government agencies.

The court magistrate's role is to look for infringements, i.e. offenses against the social order or breaches of laws, and the perpetrators in order to transfer them to the judge who will have to establish whether such an act constitutes an infringement or not before applying any punishment provided for by the law.

The objective reality that prevails in our situation is different from what has just been described above. Indeed, the person presumed guilty is ill treated and does not get any opportunity to defend himself/herself adequately. The state's magistrates behave as agents who are against the people's interests.

Given the fact that the grassroots people constitute a force, the lawyers component, especially the state's lawyers have finally ganged together in order to obtain the maximum advantages, which are inherent to such a system, to the detriment of the majority.

The private sector's lawyers

This sector comprises:

- The lawyers organized into a Law Society in order to advise and defend their clients in law courts; and
- Legal Advisors of private entities.

The current economic context of the country is such that some lawyers remain indifferent or insensible to the omnipresent injustices that daily affect their sisters and brothers in urban and rural areas, simply because the people did not request their defence services. As clearly stated above, this attitude is limited to some lawyers, and it should not be generalized. Indeed, a number of lawyers are now well disposed to promote this legal activity which was initiated by the NGOs such as GRACE, Héritiers de la Justice, Travail sur Terrain (TST) and CADI (Comité d'Action pour le Développement Intégral) in Kivu, Republic of Zaire.

GRACE's aims and objectives

- To sensitize lawyers on their role in the promotion of the rule of law as well as within the framework of its understanding. Lawyers should indeed get convinced of the fact that the access to justice, equal for the rich and the poor, is essential for the respect of the Rule of Law.
- To ensure that lawyers accord the necessary attention to the persistence of misery, ignorance and inequality with regard to

laws among the low income social groups in rural and urban areas.

- They should keep in mind theirs is a vanguard role in the struggle against such, because for as long as they last, the guarantee of civil and political rights shall not perfectly and fully satisfy the need for human dignity, as a prime and fundmental objective.

- To provide to the poorest people the legal services enjoyed by the more well-to-do groups.

  All in all, the masses need to be informed of their rights, as well as to be shown how to fight for them and ensure that they prevail.

- To undertake negotiations on their behalf with the administrative authorities, whenever necessary, and to take such an opportunity to initiate procedures related to cases that are important for rural communities, and to study their problems with the aim of promoting the necessary legal reforms.

Current relations between the three components

- Generally speaking, we are quite certain that the relations between the masses, the magistrates and the lawyers with regard to applied justice are based on mistrust.

  There is a certain distrust from the rural masses, if not suspicion, with regard to lawyers. They consider the latter as people who belong to a system that oppresses them.

- Some magistrates think that the matters are political, social or economical trouble makers whom they benefit from and who, once in a while, have got to pay in order to get the right administration of justice.

- Quite a number of lawyers believe, without openly expressing it, that social conflicts are necessary for the continuation of their work, and that the vulgarization of laws among the popular masses could jeopardize the maximilization of their honoraria.

  Consequently, this climate of mistrust can generate selfish feelings and lead to the ingorance of the necessity for all parties to live within a society governed by the rules of a strictly equitable and applied justice.

  Thus this same climate of distrust which, today, characterizes the relations between the three components, generates inevitably the self-isolation of each of the components, and their relations become dependent on their respective force, whereby the most powerful crushes the weakest.

Strategies of intervention

General approach

In view of the injustices that the grassroots people are victims of, the fundamental element of our proposal is that the members of the legal fraternity, in collaboration with social voluntary and solidarity organizations, as well as non-governmental organizations should establish a permanent consultation framework in order to bring the law to the level of the masses who are the victims of injustices, in such a way that these men and women may be able to defend their rights, fully aware of their scope and limits.

1. The creation of a body of para-lawyers and the devotion to the permanent formation of such a body as well as its legal recogni-

tion within the rural areas would constitute one of the modes of collaboration between the three initial components, if one agrees with us that the ignorance of law by those whom it concerns plays a big role in the persistence of the injustices that the grassroots people are victim of.

2. It is obvious that the rural masses now trust the development of NGOs more than the lawyers. Given the fact that these organizations know the peasants problems better, it would be suitable that the NGOs develop a programme of law service within the framework of their field of action. In this case, the NGOs constitute the best way for the magistrates to reach the grassroots.

3. Under the law, the lawyer is required to defend the poor (Act 43 of the Law-Decree of 28/09/1975) in accordance, of course, with the provisions defined by his/her organization.

   In our opinion, the Lawyers Association of Zaire should vulgarize that law so as to provide more assistance to the poor masses. Within the same framework, it would be interesting to introduce in the peasant world the concept of the popular lawyer as practiced in other third world countries.

4. The magistrates of the public ministry should help the law violator understand his/her error so that he/she may avoid committing the same mistake afterwards. Hence, those state's magistrates must regularly organize law discussions which are open to the public in order to educate the people on the basis of concrete cases.

5. The above suggested collaboration between the components also requires the establishment of harmonious and sincere relations between the members within an established and shared forum where they can freely express their views, criticize and

appreciate each other in their movement towards a society in which justice is really applied.

This objective cannot be achieved without the participation of the grassroots who prior to that, must be able to identify the injustices that they are subjected to, and capable of exposing them without fear within the framework of the forum to be created, so as to enable the latter to gradually define the legal needs of the masses and plan the required solutions.

»GRACE's« methods of action

1. Given the administration's practice of withholding legal information in order to maintain its domination over the peasants, we thought that we should help the latter to liberate themselves by vulgarizing the legal rights and rules pertaining to their daily life.

   GRACE has one lawyer, the current Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, who plays the role of animator of the legal programme within the peasant world.

2. Our animation sessions are organized for local development groups and/or associations which comprise a good number of peasants. We have addressed a letter to partner NGOs in order to confirm our readiness to provide legal assistance. A number of them have responded and requested us to come and animate and vulgarize the law at their level.

3. Our animation and vulgarization activities are carried out in the region's language (swahili). The approach involves a short oral presentation, summarized on paper and distributed to the participants during the session. The biggest part of the session is devoted to question and answer exercises. Concrete cases are

mentioned in order to illustrate our reflections. Our visits to the countryside also enable us to organize free consultations for the ILS's members on request.

4. Very recently, we signed a protocol of collaboration with the ULPGL (Université Libre des Pays des Grands Lacs), for its Law Faculty.

   Hereafter, some extracts from the agreement on the said collaboration:

   - The two parties agreed to undertake field visits in order to sensitize the masses and identify their legal problems;
   - to acquire, reproduce and eventually produce the material for the vulgarization of laws in rural areas; and
   - to vulgarize the laws through the organization of seminars, practical activities, panel-conferences.

5. Currently, we are implementing a two-level programme:

   - Visits to various partner NGOs in order to carry out animation and vulgarization activities regarding the people's rights, the implementation of the rule of law in Zaire, democracy, etc... This phase is devoted to the training of para-lawyers who will assist us within the framework of our determination of vulgarizing the law in rural areas.
   - We have already identified eight animation pools, covering our scope of action. We intend to train two persons per pool, per year, as para-lawyers.

   The major problem that we encounter at this point is the following: **The local authorities do not welcome such an initiative,** which they wrongly consider as subversive. Well, quite often they are the ones who exploit the peasants' ignorance.

Finally, we are convinced that the success of this programme of legal education will contribute to the development of our society, as much as health, agricultural, cultural, etc. education, because often all development is an integrated and integral process.

Recommendations and conclusions

The ignorance in the field of law by the masses and the lack of quick and appropriate sanctions against the people who apply them inadequately are the essential reasons for the injustices suffered by the grassroots people. Through their collaboration, the three components should find a solution to that problem.

Laws are not static, they change with the society and can lead and contribute to positive changes and progress.

General knowledge in terms of law thus enables those who work together to co-operate with other groups, to understand the legislative system and to efficiently make use of it in order to promote their objectives.

In short, the members of the three components should be aware of the fact that the frantic pursuit of individual interest is at the basis of many injustices. They should also recognize the fact that the lack of knowledge in terms of law contributes to the persistence of injustices and that the said ignorance should be fought by all means. All concerned parties should agree that the creation of a consultation forum for the three components, with regard to the rule of law as the most fundamental element, finally represents the best form of collaboration susceptible of reducing the injustices in question, which are the source of the poverty of the masses. The struggle shall be long, but victory is possible.

Notes

1. GRACE's Philosophy

J.D. Thompson. Perspectives on Adult Education. Issues in Adult Education, Community Education and Management.

This study — published by the Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone — is a collection of papers and thoughts in which the author discusses issues in adult education, community education and management.

Copies are available as long as stocks last from the:

Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, Obere Wilhelmstraße 32, 53225 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Guy Barnish / S.K. Samai. Some Medicinal Plant Recipes of the Mende, Sierra Leone.

In Sierra Leone traditional medicine has been a vital part of health care for centuries and in the 20th century it still covers the basic medical needs of the majority of the people. In this booklet, the authors have collected a cross-section of traditional bushrecipes from one area of Sierra Leone, where Mende is the predominant culture.

Copies can be obtained as long as stocks last from:

Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, Obere Wilhelmstraße 32, 53225 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Call for papers on Women, Literacy, and Development
Convergence 1994

Convergence is an international journal of adult education published by the International Council for Adult Education. In preparation for its Fifth World Assembly in the Arab region in September 1994, and in recognition of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women's Action for Equality, Development and Peace in 1995, the Council is publishing a special issue on the conference theme — »Women, Literacy, and Development«. Although we wish to highlight the educational challenges and actions of women of the Arab region, we welcome articles from all regions.

The following are preliminary ideas for exploration:

1. Discussion of the higher illiteracy rates for women in some regions
2. Examination of the challenges women face in accessing literacy programs
3. Description of case studies including methodology and practical considerations in successful projects
4. Consideration of the factors which inhibit women from fully participating in all societies
5. Exploration of how to strengthen adult education organizations to support the education and work of women
6. Discussion of how illiteracy prevents women from achieving equity in terms of control over land, financial resources, education, work, politics and decision-making
7. Examination of the global economic crisis and its effect on women's work and education
8. Consideration of how structural adjustment policies affect women
9. Exploration of how and if literacy programs for women combat poverty
10. Presentation of solutions to the problem of the high drop-out rate of teenaged girls
11. Examination of the role of women's organizations — development work vs. charity

Practitioners in the field are invited to submit articles no longer than 2500 words addressing the theme of »Women, Literacy, and Development«.

Convergence strives to maintain a regional and gender balance in its content, thus, it invites proposals for articles before accepting articles. Proposals should be submitted by **January 31, 1994**. The deadline for articles is **March 30, 1994**.

We thank you in advance for your interest in **Convergence** and look forward to receiving your proposals. Proposals should be submitted to:

***Convergence**, International Council for Adult Education,*
720 Bathurst Street, Suite 500, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2 R4,
fax: (416) 588-5725, tel: (416) 588-12 11

CONVERGENCE
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Martin Koineh, adult educator, community development worker and programme coordinator in Karo District, Eastern Province of Sierra Leone is working towards economic development by mobilising, educating and conscientizing people in the villages as community development workers. The following lecture presentation on the subject »What brings about changes in the Local Community« elucidates the context of his work.

Martin P. Koineh

What brings about changes in the local community

I. Objectives of presenting the topic

a) to enable participants to define the term »development« from their own ideas and experience,

b) to enable participants to understand the term »economic development process«,

c) to enable participants to comprehend the purpose of development activities in their local society and how they can benefit from them,

d) to develop their awareness, enable them to raise sensitive issues that have to do with »under-development« and search for solutions,

e) to increase participants' knowledge/skills, feelings and opinions about development activities so that they can work out their own ideas and better express what kind of development activity they want and how to make a plan of action.

II. Topic: What brings about changes in the Local Communities?

In the past, the idea of economic development has often been misunderstood by the people in Sierra Leone, because they felt they should concentrate on increased agricultural production with the main aim of increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) without looking at who is going to benefit from the increase. The findings made by researchers, development workers and investigators showed that the benefits of this »economic development« have not reached all the people in the villages and towns in Sierra Leone. This is because the delivery agencies responsible for distributing the fruits of economic development are very weak. Therefore, it has been concluded that the system is inefficient. The »Top-Bottom« approach typical for this Economic Development concept does not work in meeting the basic needs of the poorer people.

Making the Economic Development strategy more effective requires the participation of the majority of people such as the poorer illiterates, rich people and local elite in decision-making processes.

The clear indication of this is by executing the »Bottom-top« approach in economic development. This approach is a genuine test for people in the decision-making body to meet the basic needs of the people at grass-root-level, and, when effectively applied, will bring social change in the local communities to the benefit of the poor.

Decision-making and power structure

The question of decision-making in villages and towns is determined by the power-structure in a society.

In African societies, the leadership structure in the villages and towns often has a complicated system, because there are some people who have inherited leadership and others who are formally appointed.

In the case of the traditional societies of Sierra Leone like Temne, Kono, Kissy, Limba etc. leaders are born and not made. Traditional rulers, such as Paramount chiefs, chiefdom speakers, section chiefs, townchief/village heads, traditional priests etc., are the natural rulers. However, there are some dynamic individuals who are appointed to some leadership functions by acquisition. They could work harder at seeking social change in villages or towns.

So if our main concern nowadays is a changing society, what is required to bring about changes in the society?

The simplest answer to the above question is that the existing Power Structure should make it a point of duty to encourage the underprivileged poorer people to play an active part in the functions of the power structure. Whenever such initiatives are taken, it will make the poorer people aware of the real problems affecting them. It can also provide opportunities to increase their knowledge, skills and income as well as the chance to increase their bargaining power in business undertaken through co-operatives etc. This will then eventually bring improvements to their living conditions.

But when it is realised that the poorer people are not treated well in the power structure, sensitive issues will start to emerge as follows:

a) How are they going to benefit from the power structure?

b) How are they going to be represented in the power structure?

c) How are they going to fight for their rights?

The above mentioned issues underline the fact that undemocratic procedures spoil the natural pathway of any promising society.

Since changes in the functions of the power structure mean reducing the position and power of some people and increasing the position and power of others, it may happen that those in power are not in favour of this kind of fundamental change, and this may result in conflicts between leadership and the people led.

Therefore, it is advisable to initiate the process of »Structural change« in communities at the start of any development programme as well as on-going projects so that the leadership will not get used to dominating attitudes.

To initiate structural change does not mean fighting, wounding and killing, damaging property or using devious means to cause damage to dynamic people. It is a fundamental change which should come about in a peaceful manner.

Failure to execute this process of structural change, which is born out of the principles of democratization, will destroy the good image of the community, and may lead community development projects to a natural death.

Side-stepping of problems by power-structure

In most rural communities, the composition of the power structure by dominating leaders tends to deal only half-heartedly with the real problems affecting the people. So readers tend to give lip-services to the real problems of under-development, preferably by raising the hopes of the people by making promises. When these promises are not fulfilled they offer very little economic and social facilities to the people, e.g. by organising communities to take part in short-term development projects, such as the construction of community health centres, multi-purpose halls, pit latrines, wells, roads etc. In no way would they initiate the process of structural change, because this might lead to more widespread changes. As a consequence they avoid encouraging communities to build stronger groups like farmer groups, co-operative societies, functional literacy work etc., because this would increase the peoples' knowledge and skills as well as give them stronger voices. They are frightened of the people being empowered to attack sensitive issues affecting positive solutions for them.

And they are also afraid of creating any critical awareness (concientization) in the minds of people so that they become conscious of their positions and living conditions.

The problem of injustice is thus quite visible here because the leadership is in the hands of a few better off people, whereas the poorer people are not represented in the leadership. The poor have therefore no access to the benefits from within the community nor from outside resources, and they can hardly make attempts to fight for their rights.

Promoting a just development for people

The community development worker, social worker, extension worker etc. who has committed himself to working with the people should not hesitate to re-organise, educate and conscientize the people.

In the first place, he should try to investigate the hidden and open conflicts between the leadership and those led. He then would carry out a basic needs survey in order to establish what the people want in their villages and towns. Depending on the result of his findings, he would then address the situation to be changed:

a) He would try to reduce the dilemma of the people through education and concientization.

b) He would tactfully use his expertise to reduce the distinctions between leadership and those led.

c) He would try to initiate the process of shared leadership and shared decision-making.

d) He would recognize the use of the local peoples' knowledge, skills and experiences in order to increase production through income generation activities with the help of group-building.

This new idea of economic development will create solidarity among the newly formed groups and help them to work towards greater self-reliance and development.

Apart from that, the awareness and consciousness which has been created in the minds of the people motivates them to play an active role in community development programmes at grass-roots level. By forming larger groups they would work together with the community development worker:

- in addressing the real problems affecting their community,
- in dealing with fundamental causes of under-development,
- in promoting development activities at the grass-roots level.

In this way the majority of the people will be involved in the planning, implementation and evaluation process for greater self-reliance and development.

Achieving village/town self-reliance

Traditionally the concept of self-reliance was already practiced by different indigenous groups. They were able to render communal services to the society and on farms by making use of available local materials, as well as their knowledge/skills and man power to produce articles for village consumption.

However, due to economic incompetence and poor leadership of the native people who were mainly illiterates, these groups deteriorated.

Regarding the above indigenous mentality, it has become more reasonable in the present economic era to emphasize skills training for self-employment. Therefore the process of education and conscientization of society is important.

Through creating awareness in the minds of people they are able to identify problems causing poverty, poor health conditions, illiteracy, and the extent to which they are being exploited. This has motivated their spirit of »will-power« to take a step forward to achieve self-reliance and development.

As a result, education and conscientization will also give more scope to people by increasing their talents and skills to promote major community development activities for greater self-reliance. In this way they do not remain dependent on outside help. If ever the opportunity arises, it is advisable for such groups to develop a simple and inexpensive style of tapping their own local resources. By overcoming dependency on others they contribute to the positive image of a promising society that is truly interested in economic development.

Women of Sierra Leone: Traditional Voices.
Recognising the important role women can play in the development process, concerted efforts are being made to involve women in development activities and programmes. The interviews in this book present grassroots women in their struggle for a better development and provide information on women in Sierra Leone.
Copies are available as long as stocks last from:
Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, Obere Wilhelmstraße 32, 53225 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Ecology is not just a beautiful concept. For small farmers it can also constitute economic salvation. Chemical agriculture is costly, and at the same time it eventually makes the land sterile. Hence the ever-rising importance of returning to natural ways of fertilizing the land, and of learning, or re-learning, the contribution of each organic substance and each animal for sustainable production. The following article, taken from the periodical »Quishuar«, exemplifies this in an Ecuadorian setting.

Francisco Gangotena

The healthy obsession with fertility

We must begin to analyze the situation in our country and realize what is happening here. Up to 75% of the entire rice crop is being produced by small farmers; for potatoes the figure is 60%; for barley 80%, a figure which we believe could reach 90%; and for maize or sweet corn it is 75 %. In brief, it is the small farmers, the peasants, who are feeding the country.

Each production unit, each rural farmer tries to manage parcels of land at different levels. Each family has an average of eight parcels. What do they cultivate on each parcel? They plant a diversity of products with an average of from five to seven different types of food. In the lower regions we have maize (corn), beans, quinua and a variety of other regionally typical pulses and vegetables. At higher altitudes we always find a similar diversity: three or four legumes are always present in traditional systems.

Diversity in animal husbandry

A traditional peasant, a good indigenous farmer never has just cows or just lambs. There are always around six different kinds of animals: chickens, pigs, lambs, donkeys, rabbits, guinea pigs.

Diversification in the reciprocity system

Through the system of reciprocity, a peasant or indigenous farmer living at 2,600 meters has access to lands located from 3,400 meters to 3,800 meters. The ancient systems, at least in Ecuador, are called the »ayunti« or »lending hands«.

There are diverse systems of reciprocity. But what is their common denominator? Diversity. This is how every production unit can satisfy basic necessities in a closed circuit. The fertility of the soil is regulated exclusively on an animal, i.e. organic, basis.

However, present conditions tie peasants to the market, and not just in Ecuador. The situation is similar everywhere in the Andes. Right now it is not possible for peasants outside the market system to grow potatoes. At least here in Ecuador, 80% of the potato crop is produced on the basis of agrochemicals. There are no yields from organic farming. The soil lacks equilibrium. On the one hand the peasants have lost their technological package — their productive structure. On the other, it is they who produce for the market.

The responsibility for feeding the country lies in the hands of the peasants, and they have almost completely lost their system of production.

In my opinion, the only salvation for the peasant is to close himself off, quite the opposite of what is happening in this country.

Allow me to explain: the peasant who opens himself to the outside and departs from the traditional system remains defenseless. Government pressure extends to agricultural products, the prices of which are constantly being regulated. Chemical investments, on the other hand, just as technology and its cost, are not subject to regulation. Only the food products are. This price structure restrains the peasant. The relation between his costs and profits is always prejudiced. In this way, the technical package imposed upon peasant farmers helps to create an imbalance and always conducts them to the market where the quality of the product is based on fertilizers, seed variety, volume, yields, a better product.

Agroecology, on the other hand, is interested in the volume of living matter in the soil, a combination of protozoa, earthworms, and bacteria. It is estimated that a hectare of good highland soil contains some seven thousand kilograms, or seven tons, of living matter, broken down into 1,500 kilograms of earthworms, 1,000 kilograms of bacteria and 500 kilograms of other micro-organisms. The lifespan of living matter in the soil averages up to two years for earthworms, but is only a matter of hours for bacteria. This means that 70 tons of living matter or organic residues in the soil are being regenerated every year.

If we want to introduce bacteria into the soil we can resort to microbiology.

For example, if you have one hectare of land containing 70 tons of micro-organism residues and another 90 tons of converted matter, you can plant legumes that enrich the soil by producing nitrogen-fixing bacteria.

One of the best producers of bacteria for the soil is the animal stomach. The stomachs of cows, because of the temperature and the resulting fermentation, serve as a laboratory for the reproduction of bacteria. A little manure spread over the soil introduces the bacteria required in the decaying process. It is here that the link begins between animals and the life of the soil.

The traditional peasant has succeeded in maintaining what occurs in nature. He works in a closed cycle. A traditional peasant looks for organic remains and takes care of them. He never burns fields of stubble. He does not burn maize or other crop residues. He always utilizes them, letting them decompose through micro-organisms. The plants and the larger animals are part of the cycle. The faeces of animals serve to decompose the stubble and close a cycle or circle of animal fertilization. When technology and tractors enter the scene, the oxen depart. Threshing machines, trucks, and busses replace donkeys and horses. A good part of the stock of rural animals is being displaced. The soil begins to lose its fertility, and the peasant loses control over the entire process.

I believe we must begin to preoccupy ourselves with organic agriculture in three respects. The first commandment, »to love the land«, is connected with this type of fertility. We must make it our preoccupation to nourish the soil. The second commandment is »continuous diversity«, and the third is rotation. These three commandments are not in line with the market.

The fertility of the soil must become an obsession for us. How can we revive the lost process of diversity, and recover the fertility of soil depleted by erosion.

Besides that there is the loss of micro-organisms. When we burn fields or use other such methods, it takes four years to re-establish equilibrium. There is a physical erosion, a loss of organic material, of good earth.

We must become experts in manure. It is necessary to know how much manure a cow produces annually. A cow can eat a daily ration of up to 250 pounds of pasture. We must make ourselves experts in organic agriculture, in agroecology. We must become experts in fertility. We must turn ourselves into biologists and microbiologists, and begin to forget a little of the chemical aspect, because it is the commercial aspect.

It is amazing what you can achieve with one cow. Every day it can produce a combination of from 40 to 80 pounds of urine and manure. We must calculate the production of a lamb or a guinea pig, because of the tremendous impact it has on the fertility of land. We have long discussions with the peasants, with agricultural engineers, on the benefits of the tractor or yoke. One tractor now costs forty million sucres. This is what we have to face constantly in the projects. Forty million sucres can buy 150 to 160 oxen. How much manure this amount of animals would make! Enough to plant twenty thousand quintals (about 1,250 tons) of potatoes! We really have to study the material, and convert ourselves into experts, experts in fertility, but an alternative fertility. Once you have land enriched on the basis of manure with a level of 3.4% of organic matter, you do not need chemicals.

Our experience in preserving the fertility of the soil is seriously deficient. We have no training in that area and nowhere near enough know-how. Nevertheless, I truly believe that even though rural units of production have been virtually depleted, there are still elements of technology to rescue. It is my conviction that we must become rescuers of technology.

Launch of an International Award for Research in Literacy

Press Release

INTERNATIONAL AWARD FOR LITERACY RESEARCH

Co-Sponsored by
the UNESCO Institute for Education and
the Department of Human Resources and Labour, Canada

In continuation of the competition launched in 1991, the Government of Canada has renewed its partnership with the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) to offer an international award for the best research in adult literacy for a second time in 1993.

The author of the award-winning research work will receive a sum of US$ 10,000 and the manuscript will be published internationally in three languages (English, Spanish and French).

Original manuscripts, which should be presented to UIE *before 31 January 1994*, will be judged by an international jury.

For further information on this award for research in adult literacy please contact:

International Award for Research in Literacy
UNESCO Institute for Education
Feldbrunnenstraße 58
P.O. Box 13 10 23
20110 Hamburg
Germany

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Tel.: +49-40-44 80 41-0

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What is the meaning of participation in the work of and with female communities in a rural setting? Here are some thoughts presented on the basis of practical experience by Rocío Tabora, a psychologist and Directress of the »Centro de Comunicación y Capacitación para el Desarrollo (COMUNICA)« in Honduras. Ms. Tabora is also the author of »Fotografía y Educación de Adultos: Algunas Reflexiones sobre la Comunicación Visual«, 1991, COMUNICA — CEAAL; and »Democratizando la Vida: La Propuesta Metodológioca de las Mujeres del PAEM«, 1992, COMUNICA — PAEM.

Rocío Tabora

Rural women and communication in Honduras
Notes on methodology

> *»Now, with this strength, this security,*
> *I find I can do something,*
> *that my opinion will be taken into consideration.*
> *Now I can express my views with the conviction*
> *that I am a person.«*
> (a rural woman from Honduras)

Introduction

Globally speaking, the situation in which we live at the close of the present decade is more somber than ever for our country from the political, economic and social standpoint.

We have seen many models that guided the course of the past decade become obsolete for the new historical age in which we live. On the other hand, today's great would-be truths on neo-liberalisim are proving to be ineffective as solutions for the social problems. Instead they are painfully increasing misery, delinquency and death, leaving us, and others, with a profound sense of confusion and helplessness.

Confronted by this situation in the face of the predominant authoritarian culture, we consider it necessary to promote a democratic culture that respects differences and fosters an ethic of solidarity. As stated by Ibáz, a Peruvian educator:

»What is involved here is a new manner of living, new social relations, forms of working, thinking, feeling, celebrating... the course of social change will correspond to the way in which we alter our daily lives«[1]. We must stop divorcing the one aspect from the other.

In Central America we face the challenge of rethinking our expectations beginning with ourselves. In the organizations that work together with the popular sectors we are initiating a process of roleredefinition, revising our modes of working with the community. We are evaluating and seeking to activate the hitherto very often unrecognized learning potential existing in activities conducted independently by the people of the community.

In this context, here in Honduras we are watching with renewed optimism the educational and organizational work that rural women in the north-western sector of the country are developing autonomously within the framework of the Women's Educational Program PAEM *(Programa Educativo de la Mujer)*.

What is PAEM?

PAEM is a program developed with groups of rural Christian women in the parishes of Macuelizo, Quimistán and San Marcos in the department of Santa Bárbara; Sonaguera in the department of Colón; Taulabé in the department of Comayagua; Intibucá in the department of Intibucá and in Lempira.

It is an educational and organizational experience developed by the rural women themselves with the following objectives:

- to include women who participate in the various activities of the Catholic Church as well as more marginalized women in their organization.

- to create an alternative model for education and organization that responds to the specific problems of women, their needs and interests.

- to help to create a distinct identity pattern for women of today in Central and Latin America.

- to initiate discussion on the topic of women from the perspective of gender, class and ethnic background, and the fundamental role of women in the transformation of society, with authorities from the Catholic Church and with the leaders from the popular movement sensitive to those problems.

- to create an independent space with a unique identity, under conditions of equality, that can serve as a platform for contributing to the construction of a social movement for women, which will be capable, together with other organized sectors of the community, of constructing a new society marked by justice, humanity and fraternity.

Evaluating the methodological contributions of PAEM

As an NGO, the Center of Communication and Education for Development (COMUNICA), seeks to define a methodological proposal to generate and strengthen the communicative processes of the social organizations with which we work. Our relation with those organizations has fortified us as humans as well as in our theory and methodology.

During its three years of working with women, COMUNICA has imbibed their strength. We have learned how popular knowledge serves to complement academic knowledge.

Working with rural women who are active in PAEM has provided us with practical experience in certain areas that are becoming more relevant on a theoretical level in the various channels of popular education in Latin America.

Everywhere we look when dealing with popular cultures we see the importance of the person as an individual, of subjectivity and emotions.

In the course of organizing rural women, we have observed the forceful impact of feelings on the learning process. We have seen how their discussions, their learning materials all issue from three basic questions: »How do we live?«, »How do we think?« and »How do we rural women feel?«

On the level of methods, the feeling of festivity, celebration and being together go to form component parts of educational and organizational work.

Women, communication and culture

In the activities of women in northwestern Honduras, we see how popular forms of communication are often more than just dances, poetry, customs, narrations etc. They can become a true methodological approach to popular communication.

Our experience has shown us how important it is to utilize the dynamics of communication generated in the organizational processes of the sectors with which we work, instead of proposing or imposing methods of our own.

It is necessary to restore the relation between everyday life and forms of communication and education, a relation which has clearly been preserved in methods developed autonomously in the popular sectors. When we introduce outside methods, we generally distort them precisely because they are incongruent with the dynamics of daily life.

Our strategies tend to break with the routine of our target groups, altering or changing their time schedules and surroundings. Our schedules are tight; there is no time for silence, for changing a child's diaper, for doing three things at the same time. We overemphasize discussion, underrate the value of spending time together, of personal encounter, and place learning in opposition to recreation.

On the other hand, the cultural repression to which women are subjected, as well as social and historical marginalization, continue, as in the past, to have various consequences on, and implications in, their daily lives. As a major consequence, their ability to communicate and the quality of their communication become impaired. This is evidenced by the difficulty they experience in expressing themselves, in feeling, and in communicating in words, feelings and gestures. In consequence, women are denied the right to be creative, which in turn hinders their ability to express their views in the search for alternatives to bring about social transformation leading to development.

To reverse this process of social and historical marginalization, it is vital that we women examine ourselves deep from within to sort out the tangle of fetters that bind and subjugate us. It is necessary for us to assume control of our subjectivism and emotions which so often sway the decisions and convictions that we make on a rational level. In other words, it is fundamental that we women come to »know ourselves«.

It must be noted that for rural women this process is far more difficult, considering that their class condition places them in a position of greater insecurity, makes them more dependent on men economically, offers them less employment opportunities and reduces their chances to relate with other sectors of women.

During its six years of existence, PAEM has undertaken to orient its work around encouraging women to identify and define their own needs, mindful that self-evaluation is not the ultimate goal, but only an initial step in the educational-organizational process.

In that time, women have been coming to secure the right to laugh, the right to speak, the right to enjoy themselves, to evaluate themselves, to recognize their own dignity, to live.

Because of the special emphasis placed by PAEM on fostering human as well as democratic values, its educational aim can be characterized as providing women with an opportunity for learning to lose their fear of making a mistake. It is an opportunity for them to learn to assume a more active role in their communities, to develop their organizational faculties and leadership qualities through truly participatory methods, while recognizing the mechanisms that hamper or restrict their participation. The obstacles to participation are seen as a product of a social and historical process consistent with an anti-democratic rather than a participatory culture.

The point of departure for PAEM has been the tendency of women, for historical reasons, to underrate and marginalize themselves, and the necessity for them to overcome that tendency so as to be able to speak out, make proposals and really participate in the search for a different common destiny.

In Latin American societies, which are extremely patriarchal and authoritarian, influenced perhaps by rationalism, there is a tendency to negate our emotions: »We live in a culture that has underrated emotions while overemphasizing reason, for we humans have the desire to differentiate ourselves from animals by claiming that we are rational beings«.[2]

Challenges and perspectives

From our varied experience with popular education, we have come to appreciate the basic connection that pedagogical objectives have to educational content and to understanding theories or practical implements employed in our work. As stated by Maturana, emotions tend to color our understanding or cloud our reasoning.

Emotions are generally held to be feminine traits. Burin comments that by virtue of their motherhood, women develop specific traits geared to caring for others. It is our relation to others that we emphasize. We employ communication as a means for solving conflicts. Such traits are vital for human beings. Nevertheless, in our culture they are not held to be qualities learned through dedication and effort. They are rather regarded to be a »natural« component of feminine nature. Since they lack social value, they are not generally included in indications of emotional maturity and mental health[3].

In an analysis of the content and methods of PAEM's work, emotions are one of the key factors for rural women to comprehend. They learn to appreciate the unique capacity that they derive from their affective nature.

In the various learning activities that we develop, we would do well to rehabilitate emotions, for in the final analysis, emotions are the seed from which the values and attitudes of solidarity and human dignity issue, allowing us to accept ourselves as thinking and feeling human beings.

To restore emotions in educational and organizational work is to humanize the work, making it truly objective. To restore femininity in the face of an exaggerated masculinity or »machismo«, will help us towards the democratization of daily social relations.

On the other hand, some NGOs, including our own, see an urgent need for rethinking our pedagogical strategies, for subjecting our educational projects to continual redefinition, for obtaining greater clarity in our theoretical and methodological approaches within the specific frameworks of our target groups (children, women, adults, etc.).

It is urgent to improve our practical work, to evaluate it systematically so as to overcome the identity crisis of popular education and make it more effective. This requires a continual process of recording, sorting out, and patiently interpreting our experiences.

Above all, however, we must come to accept and always remember that popular social activities, i.e. much of what people do in the course of daily grassroots organization, are also a source of experience, of knowledge and understanding. In this vein, we must proceed to take a new look at the people we accompany, and adjust the way we define them. We must re-evaluate the alternative forms of learning present in popular organizations, and seek to tap the store of dynamics existing in them, so as to validate and empower them as methodological and didactical elements.

In the course of our work with PAEM, we have come to see that in some parts of the country people are beginning to make room for democracy within their daily lives under the encouragement of the women's organization.

They are again beginning to have a say in matters, which facilitates true participation on the part of rural women. Couples are beginning to share household tasks. Men are coming to see their female partners as persons who think and have rights. Priests and representatives of the Church are beginning to hear the demands of women. Women are fighting to defend their autonomy and identity. Such instances are slight but refreshing signs in a context of poverty and despair.

Those elements constitute a solid basis for said communities to formulate an approach to local development within a framework of extensive participation on the part of men and women.

A more democratic Central America can only be achieved if oppressed groups increasingly recover the share of power denied them historically. In this sense, women, and specifically rural women, must consolidate their space in the family, the community, in cooperatives, in organizations etc. The creation of a true historical alternative to the prevailing neo-liberal model and to the authoritarian social patterns that separate and dehumanize us will require their contribution, together with that of other underprivileged sectors of the region.

Oral tradition and gender issues

Video films and traditional stories handed down orally by women in rural sectors are further elements of the didactical methods that we employ in working with women to examine gender issues.

I would like to take a somewhat closer look at this area, as it is my particular working sphere. Oral communication is commonly recognized as the chief form of communication in our villages. At the break of day, whether in rural areas or in the popular urban sectors, the streets, patios, and sidewalks become meeting places for people to laugh, share their concerns, tell stories, and joke with one another. Our oral tradition is rich in magical and true stories, legends of all kinds, and topics of every nature.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that those wonderful stories filled with surrealism, magic and beauty often transmit ideas, beliefs and stereotypes that belittle groups like ethnic minorities, handicapped persons or women.

On the other hand, we have neglected to employ the wealth of stories, or the provocative and motivating power of oral tradition, in our education work with the popular sectors. At the same time, literature as a source of knowledge has been relegated to a peripheral role in formal education. Insofar as such vehicles of communication are put off as imagination, fantasy, emotional nonsense and a waste of time, they become another way of divorcing learning processes from everyday life.

Consequently, opportunities diminish for participants to engage in an educational process of developing their creative potential, and for appreciating and enjoying the beauty of language and images. The use of oral tradition allows us to begin to disentangle, examine and sort out the chains that bind our consciences and condition our perspectives, feelings and actions. It allows us to examine our prejudices, to analyze myths and beliefs that serve to separate us, or on other occasions to unite us, and to appreciate our rich culture, thereby strengthening our identity.

If we take a general stock of the stories handed down by oral female tradition in rural areas, it is easy to locate elements of stereotypes that tend to make women reinforce their own negative image. Those stereotypes are converted very forcefully into the reality of daily situations where women in our societies are oppressed and subordinated.

Nevertheless, if we look at those stories together with groups of rural women, they provide us with a valid tool for examining gender issues.

In the procedure that we have developed together with different groups of rural women, the basic steps for examining such stories can be described as follows:

- One of the participants tells a story.
- The story is recounted by others: (Have we heard the story before, and if so, how was it told?)
- The group discusses the story: How do we think and feel about the story? (The answers can be sorted into categories.)
- Participants relate to or identify with the story. (Generally the women can identify with the details of or persons in the story.)

- Symbols or beliefs present in the story are discussed.

- The theological implications of the story are examined. (This aspect stimulates avid discussion in groups of Christian women. It must be borne in mind that there are strong religious elements in most stories handed down orally by women in rural settings.)

- Discussion is encouraged on the social implications of the myths and beliefs found in the story. (What type of relationships do they generate, are they discriminating or positive for someone and why?)

- General conclusions are drawn about personal implications and the need to continue discussing the topic.

The foregoing steps comprise the basic elements that we have identified in our work to date, but the above list is not intended to be followed mechanically in any set order.

It is our intention at COMUNICA to continue our study of this area so as to be able to create a more precise conceptual framework for including oral tradition in our practical work as it relates to gender issues.

To close, I would like to make the personal remark that over the course of the past years, my work together with rural women of Honduras in the area of didactical communication has permitted me to restore my utopia and has helped me to be able to live in a country and in a world that, in the sense of Arguedas, a Peruvian author, and Rodrigues, a Cuban song-writer: makes us vacilate between terror and hope...between horror and tenderness.

Notes

1. Ibañez Alfonso, Alcances Politicos y Culturales de la Educación Popular en Contexto y Educão, No. 23, Jul-Set. 1991, p. 10
2. Maturana R. Humberto, Emociones y Lenguaje en Educación y Politica. Educación y Comunicación, 2da. Edición, Colección Hachette-Comunicación, Chile, 1990, p. 14
3. Burin, Mabel, Estudios sobre la Subjetividad Femenina. Mujeres y Salud Mental, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, Colección Controversia, Buenos Aires, 1987, p. 397f.

P.E.A. Stories and Songs from Sierra Leone

- **Why beggars beg on Fridays and other stories**
- **A biography of B.A. Foday-Kai**

In 1984, the People's Educational Association of Sierra Leone (PEA) started to collect stories and songs, riddles and proverbs from different areas in the country. The finished products of the projects are published in this series «Stories and Songs from Sierra Leone».

If you with to cooperate with PEA or if you want copies of these booklets, please write to:

The Project Manager, PEA Stories and Songs from Sierra Leone, 8, Adelaide Street, P.M.B. 705, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

»African Woman«

1. African woman African woman
Which name suits me best?
I am the family plough
Plough the land which I don't own
Yet my beloved husband reaps what I sow.

2. African woman African woman
Which name suits me best?
I bear children every year
I plough for them every year
I feed them every year
I dress them every year
Yet they are not mine
My beloved husband claims them.

3. African woman African woman
Which name suits me best?
I am the source of water for the family
I am the source of firewood for the family
I am the source of food for the family
I am the source of income for the family
Yet I own nothing but my beloved husband owns everything.

4. African woman African woman
Which name suits me best?
I am the bed for my husband
I am the pillow for my musband
I am the blanket for my husband
Because he bought me, so he owns me.

5. African woman African woman
Which name suits me best?
African woman
Please wake up!
Is this a good quality of life your woman should live???
Men let women reap what they sow.

Composed by
Marriet Mugulusi Mulomi
Member MWASEA, Iganga, Uganda

The demand for participation of the relevant population groups in development programmes has now asserted itself. Yet things often look quite different in practise. What are the obstacles to participation? The following case study from Malaysia attempts to provide an answer to this question based on interviews with the people / groups concerned. Peter Songan is Lecturer at the Center for Social Science and Management Studies at the University of Agriculture in Bintulu, Sarwak, Malaysia.

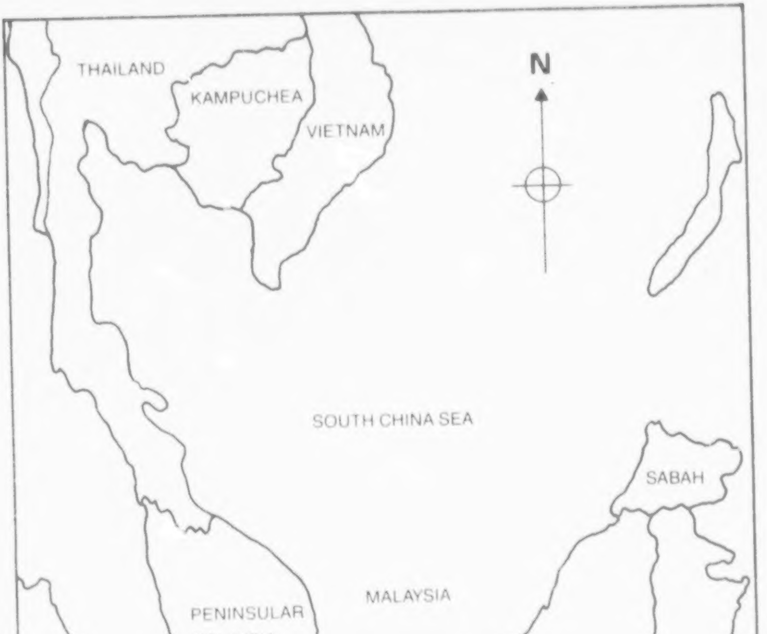
Peter Songan

Obstacles to participation in rural development program: A case study of a land development project in Sarawak, Malaysia

Introduction

Participation is widely regarded as a desirable and necessary element for the successful design and implementation of rural development programs. The rationale is that people should be involved in making the decisions that affect their lives so that they can express their views and make suggestions and requests that could be integrated into the development programs. Furthermore, it is hoped that their involvement will enhance their commitment to carry out the programs they have identified. The conception that the underprivileged, especially those in the rural areas of Third World countries, should be mobilized and encouraged to participate in decision making has been widely debated and popularly accepted by development thinkers and practitioners. The notion of participation is being applied in agriculture, health, nutrition, education, social work, and other rural development programs. Development practitioners in Malaysia are beginning to appreciate and accept participation as a means for widening and redistributing opportunities to enable the rural people to take part in decision making that affects their lives. Rural populations who are beneficiaries of rural development programs are no longer regarded as traditional, even primitive, or, in a paternalistic way need to be educated out of their ignorance.

Despite the importance placed upon participation as a requisite for development programs to succeed, however, many organizations in Malaysia still experience poor participation of the clients in their programs. The findings of a study by Songan, Sanggin, Shah, and Wok (1985) revealed that only about 25 percent of the peasants in the extension villages of the University of Agriculture, Malaysia, Branch Campus in Sarawak participated in the planning and implementation of the extension programs intended to improve their living conditions. Sagan (1987) reported that the Agricultural Model Village Program of the Department of Agriculture in one village in Sarawak was not successful because the farmers did not participate. The government's concern and dissatisfaction with the intensity and quality of people's participation has been noted. The Sarawak minister of land development in his interview with Jernal Azam (1987) mentioned that the landowners who owned native customary land have resisted land development efforts in the state.


THAILAND
KAMPUCHEA
VIETNAM
N
SOUTH CHINA SEA
SABAH
MALAYSIA
PENINSULAR MALAYSIA
SARAWAK
LOCATION OF STUDY
SINGAPORE
KALIMANTAN
SUMATRA
INDONESIA
JAVA

Sketch Map showing the location of the study

Lang (1987), the general manager of Sawarak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA), admitted that the agency had encountered resistance and poor participation from its intended beneficiaries in its land development project in Lubok Antu. The chief minister of Sarawak commented in Jernal Azam (1991) that there had been persistent land development problems in the Kalaka and Saribas districts. He suggested that a scientific investigation should be undertaken to find out why the people were unwilling to participate in land development programs in these districts. Dandot (1991), the former project director of the Kalaka--Saribas Integrated Agriculture Development Project (IADP), mentioned that there was a delay in implementation of the project as a result of the peasant's poor response and lack of participation. Why has participation not been fully achieved in these cases? What are the obstacles to participation?

A case study was conducted to determine the obstacles to participation of peasants in a land development project in Sarawak, Malaysia. It was conducted through open-ended interviews with the peasants who were purposively selected from the population of the project area. In this study, obstacles to participation are defined as factors which are perceived by an individual to restrict, hinder or otherwise impede his or her participation in rural development program activities.

Background of the study

This case study was conducted in Sarawak, an East Malaysian state located on the island of Borneo (see map). It focuses primarily on the perceptions about obstacles to participation of the peasants in the land development project of the Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (SALCRA) in the Kalaka and Saribas districts, located in the Sri Aman Division, Sarawak. The project area is situated 300 kilometers from Kuching (capital of Sarawak) to the west of the trunk road connecting Sri Aman and Sibu. The population of the project area is approximately 49,000 people. The breakdown by race and districts is shown in the table below.

Present population of the project area

Race	*Kalaka district*		*Saribas district*		*Total project area*	
Malays	12,678	(50%)	16,717	(71%)	29,395	(60%)
Chinese	2,306	(9%)	687	(3%)	2,993	(6%)
Ibans	10,479	(41%)	6,054	(26%)	16,533	(34%)
Total	25,463	(100%)	23,458	(100%)	48,920	(100%)

The main objective of the project is to increase the income and standard of living of the peasants through increased agricultural production and employment opportunities. The government's decision to designate the two districts for the project was based on the high rate of poverty, low agriculture production, very little infrastructure facilities, and the potential of the area for agricultural development. In the project area, the average family size is 7 for the Malays and the Chinese, and 6 for the Ibans. Two-thirds of the population or 33,000 people are rural dwellers. Out of the 8,000 households in the project area, about 6,200 or 75 percent are involved in subsistence agricultural activities. These activities include rice farming, mostly using shifting cultivation methods and cultivating low-value, low-yielding cash crops such as rubber, pepper, cocoa and coconuts. In 1981, the average annual farm income was M$ 1,400 per household and the total annual income is M$ 2,800 per household. This income level is well below the absolute poverty level of M$ 4,000 per family.

Approximately 85 percent of the total population in the project area can be classified as poor. The portion of the population (excluding the preschool group) who are attending or have attended school, mainly primary school, is 63 percent. In the below twenty age group, those who are attending or have attended school is 69 percent. Of household heads, 42 percent were educated mainly at the primary school level.

SALCRA is a rural development agency established by the government of Sarawak in 1976. Its primary objective is to develop land *in situ* particularly Native Customary Land on behalf of poor rural peasants, especially shifting cultivators, rather than undertaking massive land resettlement schemes. SALCRA is given the task to develop *in situ* idle and fragmented Native Customary Land in the Kalaka and Saribas districts with oil palm and cocoa. Essentially, this means the consolidation of pieces of Native Customary Land that are owned individually by the peasants into large economic farm units that will be developed and managed commercially. The authority hopes that the permanent cultivation of cash crops and a sedentary form of agriculture will improve the socioeconomic lives of the peasants. Under the arrangement, peasants who would like to participate in the land development project would entrust their land to SALCRA for twenty-five years, the time needed for the oil palm trees to mature and reap profits. SALCRA wll develop the land on behalf of the peasants who wish to participate in the land development arrangement. The peasants who decide to participate need not entrust all their lands and can retain some of them for other purposes. Although the lands are entrusted to SALCRA for twenty-five years, the peasants still own their lands. During that period, SALCRA hopes to recover all the costs of development in part selling fresh fruit bunches of the oil palm. Apart from earning wages as manual workers in the oil palm schemes, the peasants can benefit from the payment of dividends from the sale of fresh fruit bunches. Their dividends depend on the amount of their shares, which according to the agreement is one hectare per share. Other benefits for the peasants are the roads built and a survey of their land and issuance of titles. Presently, SALCRA has opened up five land development schemes in the Kalaka and Saribas districts. These are Roban North Oil Palm Scheme, Roban South Oil Palm Scheme, Saratok Oil Palm Scheme, Rimbas Oil Palm Scheme and Kabong-Nyabor Drainage Scheme.

Findings and discussions

Based on the information obtained from the respondents, the perceived obstacles that discouraged the peasants from participating in the land development project and the perceptions of what deterred the other peasants from participating are discussed. The discussion mostly in the form of narrative will be followed and supported by transcriptions from the interviews with the respondents. These interviews were originally conducted in the language of the peasants and were carefully transcribed and translated into English in the respondents' own words as closely as possible.

Perceived obstacles to participation

For some of the respondents, dispositional constraints were among some of the major obstacles to participation. The greatest dispositional obstacles were their scepticism and worries about the success of the project. They did not trust what government officials told them because they were worried that the project would not succeed. They had seen similar projects implemented by the government in the past fail. A glaring example of such a failure was the first land development project of Sarawak Development Finance Corporation (SDFC), which was later taken over by Sarawak Land Development Board (SLDB), called the Rubber Planting Scheme B, implemented in 1964 in the same division where the land development project was currently being implemented.

»There are officials from SALCRA, like its general manager, Mr. Denys Lang, who come to our place to explain the concept of the project and its benefits to us. But even then, we are still very sceptical. Even though the explanation is very clear, we, especially the elders, are still very worried. We are not very sure whether the project will work the way that it is explained to us. Throughout our lives, we have seen many cases where there are failures in other projects that have been implemented by the government, although the people who carry them out are educated. That is why people like us do not want to participate yet, because we need time to make our decisions.«

Some of the respondents were worried that through the project the government would take away their right to their land. The peasants, especially the Ibans placed great spiritual and social value on their land. They believed that when they died they and the ghosts and memories of their departed ancestors would reside on their land (Hong, 1987). Also, land is a source of livelihood that provides food and other needed materials and serves as a security against future risk. Most of the land the peasants owned was classified as Native Customary Lands and had no official title. These lands were mostly acquired through the felling of virgin jungle for farming activities and were generally in the form of shifting cultivation. The Land Code of the State of Sarawak states that such lands will continue to belong to the state and any native lawfully occupying the land holds it by license from the state until such a time when titles are issued (Foo, 1987). Therefore, the peasants did not have any official and recognized right to these lands. They thought that the government was using the schemes as a pretense to take their lands away from them.

»We are still not clear about the purpose and intentions of the project... we are worried that the government will take away our land... Some of us think that the project will not succeed... and we are still very sceptical.«

The fear of being denied access to their lands and the right to develop them as they like prevented some of the peasants from participating. Under the agreement of the project, the peasants would entrust their land to SALCRA for 25 years, the period needed for oil palm to mature, produce, and reap profit. The peasants were afraid that if they surrendered their lands to be developed under the project, the lands would be tied up for too long and they would not have land to develop themselves and for their coming generations. They were afraid that they would not have any land at all or would be left with a limited land base that would restrict them from pursuing farming and other economic activities.

»If we surrender our land to be developed under the project, it will be tied up for so long with the project, that is, for 25 years. We will not have land to cultivate ourselves and for our coming generation during this period. We even will not have a place anymore to obtain materials to repair our longhouse and for us to collect firewood to cook our food.«

A feeling of doubt that the project would be successful because there would not be enough human power and facilities to sustain it was also mentioned by some of the respondents who were not participating in the project. They felt that a mammoth project such as the SALCRA LAND development scheme should be managed and administered by a large enough number of well-trained personnel and have well-equipped facilities.

»There is not enough manpower and equipment to keep the project going. We are doubtful that the project will succeed. Look at the personnel of this project... very few of them have experience in managing a large project like this... Sometimes we heard that those people working in the schemes complained that they had to wake up very early in the morning and they waited for hours for the truck to come and pick them up. There were also cases when the

truck did not turn up at all and they had to walk for long distances to their work sites on the schemes.«

Another dispositional constraint was the failure fully to understand the concept and objectives of the project. Because these were not clearly explained to them, they did not trust the project and questioned the government's motives in bringing it to their area.

»*We are not sure of the real concept and objectives of the project. There were officers who came to talk to us about the project, but they only told us that the project would bring development to this area, bring employment and that our land would be developed. But we do not know the real motive of the project. Suppose if the project fails, what will happen next to our land.*«

Some respondents did not want to participate in the project because they had a »wait and see« attitude. They wanted to see how it worked out before making a decision. Also, they were influenced by their leaders who were sceptical about the success of the project and were not participating in it.

»*Now, we just want to see what is going on first... whether there are real benefits to be obtained from the project... The head of our longhouse was brought on a tour to Kuala Lumpur last time, but as of now he has not made up his mind to participate in the project. He still wants to observe what is going on and would also like to ask the opinions of his children first (some were educated). He still wants to discuss it with his children who are not here because they are working somewhere else.*

We all agree to think first about the development project carefully, because this form of development is new to us. We will agree to participate in the project only if it is good for us. Some of us participated right from the beginning, but there were some of us who participated as the project progressed. We human beings are different.«

A similar response was given by one respondent who was not participating in the project. A group of people in the longhouse were not participating because they were following their leader. This respondent seemed to imply that nonparticipation was an act of resistance. The benefits to be achieved from the project were clear (he mentioned that some of the women in the longhouse were employed in the schemes). Their failure to participate appeared to support the reproduction and resistance theory of Quigley (1990) which postulates that a person intentionally resists participation in educational activities on the grounds of his or her ideology and after having criticised and rejected the dominant culture. To them, the land development project may be a form of an activity of a dominant culture.

»Our longhouse head is not here to talk about the project with you. We could not simply talk without him. We normally follow what he says. If he says that we should participate in the project, then we will follow what he says. We are like one family, if he says, for example that we should be in the opposition party, we will follow him. Although we are not participating in the project now, many of the ladies from this longhouse work in the SALCRA schemes.«

Some of the peasants did not want to participate in the project because they were comfortable with what they already had and were happy with their present way of life. They felt that the cash obtained through the subsidy schemes given by the Department of Agriculture were sufficient for them to live comfortably. They were unwilling to participate in the SALCRA land development project because it did not offer subsidy. Moreover, they still preferred to practice shifting cultivation. They feared that if they participated in the project, they would not have time to plant padi under shifting cultivation.

»Not many of us here are interested in the major project (SALCRA's schemes)... We were already given a pepper subsidy scheme. From the scheme we were given 200 vines per household and cash subsidy of M$ 290 per household per year. There is a lot of aid given to us, for two years, a cash subsidy of M$ 500 plus. If you think about it, especially from the monetary point of view, I feel it helps us a lot... Not many of our days are really spent on pepper, because we are still planting hill padi. We get sufficient income from planting pepper, but not really much to live comfortably. We still have to plant padi because we have been planting it ever since.«

Some respondents were not willing to participate in the project because they perceived that it had brought problems instead of improving their lives. They resented the project.

»One major problem is with our water that has been polluted because of the project. We cannot drink water from the streams anymore because they are polluted with mud, pesticides, and fertilizers from the schemes. Now we have to use tap water. But sometimes when the weather is dry we have very little water, or our water is cut off. We have talked about this problem many times with the SALCRA manager, but nothing has been done so far.«

Some respondents perceived that the project was planned by the government without involving them in the decision-making process. During the interview, they complained that they were cajoled into participating in the project by the government officials and politicians. Because the project had been centrally planned without their involvement, they perceived that it ignored their feelings and desires and did not serve their needs and interests. Their non-involvement in planning the project could have contributed to their lack of enthusiasm and made them suspicious about the government's motives.

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»There were many people who talked to us about joining the project, such as officials from SALCRA who told us the benefits to be obtained from joining it, and also ministers and other government officials who came here to campaign for the project. There were people such as Datuk Peter Tinggom (member of parliament for the area) and Edwin Lau (former group manager of SALCRA schemes in the Kalaka-Saribas IADP) who came and campaigned for the people to participate in the project.

Some officers from SALCRA came to talk with us about the project. They asked us to participate in the project. They went from longhouse to longhouse and told the people to join the project.

The officers from SALCRA went from longhouse to longhouse to campaign about the project and influenced the people to accept the project. That was how we came to know about it.«

Some of the peasants were not able to participate in the project because of situational constraints. These people did not own any land, or their land was deep in the interior and could not be reached by the project or their landholdings were too small and were planted with other crops. Others owned land that was by the roadside. They did not want to surrender it to the project because roadside land is valuable and they wanted to keep it as a prized asset.

»It is not that we do not like the project, but because some of us do not own any land. Sometimes the land is too small and is planted with other crops. Some of the lands that you see around here are planted with rubber trees. These rubber trees are being tapped. Some of us own land deep in the interior and cannot be reached by the project.

We could not participate in the project because we do not have any land, ... but there are also some of us who have lands by the roadside who do not want to surrender them to SALCRA.«

Some of the respondents mentioned that they were deterred from participating in the project because of political influence. The opposition political party did not want the people to support the project because if it failed the people would blame the government and would not vote for its candidates in the next state election.

»Before the split of our longhouse, the longhouse was very long and there were many people. Some of the people in our longhouse who were members of the opposition political party did not agree with the project, and they influenced us not to participate in the project. They influenced us not to go on tour. The officers from SALCRA were also afraid to come to our old longhouse to discuss with us about the project. Sometimes we felt ashamed to hear the language they used to speak with these officers who try to come and discuss with us about the project.«

As shown by these words from the interview respondents, there were many obstacles that were responsible for their nonparticipation in the SALCRA's land development project. These obstacles were both internal and external and could be categorized as dispositional, situational, and operational in nature. This finding is consistent with the study of Darkenwald and Marriam (1982) that the reasons for nonparticipating are usually multiple and interrelated in complex ways.

Perceptions of what deterred others from participating

During the interviews, the respondents were asked why some peasants were not participating in the project. Few respondents were willing to give their opinions because they thought it was not appropriate to comment about others' behavior or to talk on their behalf. But some respondents were willing to tell why they believed others were not participating. They thought that some peasants were not willing to participate because their lands were far in the interior and had not been reached by the project. Also, some of them were landless.

»There were those who own lands in the interior and at that time were not able to have them developed... It was only in 1988 that SALCRA began to acquire those lands in the interior and that these people were able to join in the project. That meant the project had not reached their lands before 1988... and only since 1988 could they have participated.

There were some of them who did not participate because they did not have land, but for those who have land, all of them participated, even though their lands are small.«

Some of the peasants did not participate because they were perceived to be deterred by some dispositional constraints, that is, worried that the government would take away their land through the project or that the government might deceive them by giving them false land titles.

»The people in this area can be divided into three groups, two-thirds are already participating and one-third are not. Those that did not participate thought that the government would take away their land. They also thought that the land titles issued by the government to the people who had participated in the project were not genuine and were xeroxed titles.

We do not have the same thinking... people who participated in the project thought that it was good for them, and those who did not participate thought otherwise. They thought otherwise because they said that the government will take away their land. For those of us who have participated, we have seen with our own eyes because we had received our land titles already. For them, they said that the titles were false and they were xeroxed titles. That is why they did not want to participate now... they still want to wait and see what is really happening first.«

Other perceived dispositional constraints were that they were not fully knowledgeable about the concept and objectives of the project. They had difficulty understanding the explanations given by the officers who came to talk with them about the project. Because they could not understand the objectives, they were suspicious of the project and thought it would do them no good.

»For those who did not want to participate, I think the objectives of the project were not clear. They did not fully understand the concept of the project. They thought that the project was not good for them and that it should not be implemented in this area.«

Some peasants did not want to participate in the project because they were influenced by some better-off, educated people, mostly government servants and personnel from private firms who supported the opposition political party or who had their own motives and self-interests.

»Some better-off educated people in this area who were mostly government servants and those who worked with private firms, such as Shell Company influenced the people not to surrender their land to be developed under the project. They did it because they had some motives. Some of them are members of the opposition political party, and they do not want the people to support the government's projects in this area. Some of them did not want the peasants to give their land to SALCRA, because when the peasants are in financial difficulty, especially during rainy seasons, they will be approached and swayed to sell their lands to these people at a cheap price.«

The peasants were also perceived to be deterred from participating in the project because politicians from the opposition political party gave them a negative picture about the project. These people spread propaganda that the project was a »government's play to take their land«, which caused apprehension among the peasants. These politicians used scare tactics to make people fear the project.

»Actually the person who was responsible to influence the federal government to bring the project to this area was the present member of parliament for this area... when his party was still in the government... he was the deputy minister of agriculture in the federal cabinet. Now that they were in the opposition, they campaigned for the people not to support the project. They used scare tactics... such as telling the people that the government will take away their lands if they surrender them to the project, and that those who participate in the project will be arrested and put in jail.«

Another reason for not participating was scepticism about the project's chances for success. This was reflected in the response of one respondent.

»It is better for SALCRA to build the factory here in order to convince the people in this area that they are serious about the success of the project. As of now, many of them are still sceptical about the project. Now, they are still sending the oil palm to a factory at Merindun using a ten-ton truck.«

Summary and conclusions

As revealed by the case study, the obstacles to participation were mostly dispositional, situational, and operational in nature. Some of the major dispositional constraints that were voiced by the peasants were their scepticism and worries about the success of the project. They were also worried that through the project the government would confiscate their lands. The two major operational constraints that were revealed by the case study were inadequate delivery mechanism and centralized planning.

The case study reveals that the cultural, economic, social, and political environment in which people live strongly influences their participation decisions and that the obstacles to participation are based on their distinctive perceptions and characteristics. Situational, dispositional, and operational factors are responsible in influencing an individual's participatory behavior. Therefore, the obstacles that deter participation are multidimensional. An individual's decision not to participate in rural program development activities are not determined by isolated obstacles, but rather by the synergistic action of multiple obstacles.

Of practical importance for program planners is the fact that inadequate delivery mechanism and centralized planning reflect, in part, perceptions to programming characteristics. The findings of the case study imply that inadequate delivery mechanism can cause doubts about the success of the program. Program planners should assure the availability of sufficient resources to implement programs from the beginning and purchase the necessary equipment and machinery needed for the program to run smoothly. Bureaucratic red tape that hinders the availability of funds for purchasing equipment and machinery should be eliminated. The visibility of the equipment and machinery can convince the people that the planners are serious about the success of a program. The findings also suggest that centralized planning is a major obstacle to participation in a rural development program. To avoid this obstacle, program planners should, as much as possible, involve the people in all phases of the program development process: at the decision-making phase, at the implementation phase, at the evaluation phase, and in sharing the benefits of the program. People should be involved in decision-making processes that affect their lives and should be treated as subjects and not objects of development. In this way, the people will accept programs as their own and will be commited to participate in them.

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SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres) in Bombay, India, was established in 1984 as a reaction to the destruction of pavement settlements in Bombay and the subsequent conflicts. The following paper, which was presented at the International Conference »Shelter, Women and Development« in May 1992 in Michigan, USA, describes the methodical approach of the education work of SPARC and takes a close look here at the promotion of women and their participation in projects. Sheela Patel is the Director of SPARC.

Meera Bapat / Sheela Patel

Beating a path: Towards defining women's participation

This paper is based on the experience of community organization work that SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres) has been involved in since its formation in 1984.

SPARC is a voluntary organization (or a non-government organization — NGO) based in Bombay in western India. (The metropolis had a population of more than 12 million in 1991). SPARC's founders are professionals who have worked in areas of social work, social activism, social sciences and related research. In order to work towards establishing equity and social justice they felt a need to set up an organization which aligned as a partner rather than as a patron with marginalised communities and organizations of the poor. To fulfill its aspirations, SPARC has set up resource centres in areas geographically accessible to the groups that need them. In such centres people find information, interact with their neighbours and others in similar situations as themselves, develop skills and learn to make their own representations. In such resource centres management is gradually passed on to the communities that use them.

SPARC has two partner organizations: Mahila Milan (MM) and the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF). Mahila Milan (MM) was formed in 1987 initially as an organization of women who live on pavements and who trained themselves with the help of SPARC to lobby for their rights including access to secure shelter. The organization has developed strategies to ensure that the women are supported by the entire community of which they are a part. Women are encouraged to work not only within their own community but also with women from other communities to help them take on similar initiatives. In the process they gather strength as the membership of their collective grows.

The National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) had been in existence for several years prior to becoming a partner of SPARC and had worked sporadically on issues concerning slum dwellers. After SPARC conducted an enumeration of pavement dwellers in 1985, NSDF was drawn to the methodology of creating an information base for mobilising people and began to interact with SPARC. NSDF has member federations in Bombay and in other cities in India[1].

When SPARC began its work, the organization had a philosophy of work but did not have a set course of action or a methodology. As its involvement grew, it formulated its approach almost intuitively. The outcome so far has little to show in terms of concrete results or gains, but the process it has set in motion, we believe, attempts to contribute towards changing the marginalised position of disadvantaged groups and in particular of women.

I. Reviewing approaches to women's development

This experience needs to be viewed against the background of approaches used for achieving women's development and strategies adopted for countering their subordination, especially since 1975 when the United Nations decade for women began[2]. *»The almost uniform conclusion of the International Women's Decade research is that with a few exceptions, relative access to economic resources, incomes, and employment has worsened, their burdens of work have increased, and their relative and even absolute health, nutritional and educational status has declined.«*[3]

What is significant is that this decline in women's situation has taken place in spite of all the information, publicity and pressures surrounding women in the last two decades or so.

Policy approaches that have been successively adopted in an attempt to change women's status have been described[4] as welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment. Each approach was born out of an understanding at that time of women's role in development. These approaches have been operationalised not singly but collectively. Most of these approaches, however, have failed to address the fundamental problems that women suffer from.

In order to analyse why women's status has altered little a distinction needs to be made between the »condition« and »position« of women[5]. A woman's condition means the material state that she finds herself in (e.g. poverty, lack of education, burden of work, lack of access to credit or technology etc.). Her »position« means her social and economic standing relative to men.

»The condition of women is the subject of much of development literature on women and a major part of development concerns centres on finding ways of improving women's condition by targeting ameliorative resources to them rather than by radically changing underlying structures. The emphasis on women's condition has two consequences. Firstly, there has been a tendency to emphasize women's practical and day-to-day needs — giving greater access to credit, special training schemes etc. Secondly, the approach makes it difficult for structural issues concerning women's position to be raised. It inhibits posing the question of whether women's condition is related to their structural position, and/or whether any serious and sustainable improvement in their condition is possible without structural changes. As a result while women's needs as mothers, producers etc. are highlighted, their interests as women are not.«[6]

When discussing women's needs it is essential to differentiate between *»the needs of women as occupiers of particular social roles and interests of women as a social category with unequal access to socially valued resources (both economic and social) and political power.«*[7] This differentiation has been further developed as practical needs and strategic interests[8].

»Examples of practical gender needs derive from the necessity of fulfilling particular roles allocated to them by the division of labour: e.g. care of children, maintenance of the house, care of the elderly, servicing of family and community... Strategic gender interests arise from women's growing recognition that the age-old structures

of male dominance and privileges are not sacrosanct, but social impositions and as such amenable to change.«[9]

The approach to the development of women that is concerned centrally with the position of women and her strategic interests is the »empowerment« approach. Strategic interests are defined on the basis of an analysis of gender subordination and a formulation of a vision of alternative gender relations.

It is clear that if women are to attain justice in society it is necessary that the structures of subordination are transformed — i.e. changes in laws, civil codes, property rights, labour codes, social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privileges. The empowerment approach, however, recognizes the limitations of top-down government efforts to meet strategic gender interests. Even when these strategies are adopted, in order to implement them, sustained efforts in the form of political mobilization, consciousness raising and popular education are required. The empowerment approach sees the importance of using practical gender needs as the basis on which to build a secure support base and a means through which more strategic interests may be reached.

Popular education is regarded by adherents of the empowerment approach as an important component of a strategy that challenges gender subordination. Popular education *»is concerned with developing critical consciousness amongst the marginalised groups, with strengthening behaviours and attitudes which lead to more confident and assertive practices and to formulating strategies to contribute to the changing of their marginalised position.«*[10]

The approach develops from the needs and aspirations of the marginalised groups and leads to the self-discovery among the people of their own capacities to analyse, challenge and transform their own reality.

II. Why focus on women pavement dwellers

In the work done by SPARC, as now seen with hindsight, the element of popular education which attempts to address the situation of women's subordination evolved as a critical component. The group arrived at its methodology of work not from studying any manuals or handbooks on the subject, but from their commitment to looking at the needs and aspirations of marginalised groups as defined by the groups themeselves; the workers in SPARC were acutely conscious of not imposing their own values, attitudes and ideas on the people and communities they worked with.

The focus on women pavement dwellers[11] arose from the experience of some of the individual members of SPARC from earlier work with such communities. It had shown them clearly that these women, on the one hand, have to face extremely hostile and difficult situations, but on the other hand, are a key to the survival of their families and communities. They not only nurture and create the physical and psychological space for fulfilling family needs but also create the community's survival system based on mutual support which is so essential for surviving in a highly competitive and alienating city environment. They manage resources in such a way as to ensure their conservation and equitable distribution. And yet, their contribution to the building, consolidation and development of their settlements remains unacknowledged. Women do not give any credit to themselves for their own contribution either. They are never consulted in formulating interventions (by NGOs or government agencies). In order to address the needs and aspirations of marginalised groups, however, those who face crises and devise survival strategies (i.e. women) must play a central role in decision-making, in designing strategies and implementing them. Hence

SPARC focuses on women. This is a means of acknowledging existing processes and building upon them.

Right from the start in SPARC's work, therefore, central participation of women is a critical component of a gender-sensitive community organization. It attempts to achieve this by facilitating the renegotiating of men and women relationships within their families, communities and federations in order to achieve the goal of equity.

III. Reorganization of communities and gender sensitivity

A. Changing self-image of women

The reorganization of groups in order to be gender sensitive must occur in large enough numbers of communities to provide the environment where new relationships not only sustain themelves but also get reproduced. Popular education becomes a critical tool in creating the new environment. By starting popular education with women, it is ensured that both women themselves and communities constantly acknowledge women's central role in the process of change.

In the popular education programme, as the first step towards self-discovery by women, SPARC initiates individual introspection by women into their past. Starting from childhood, women are encouraged to share their experiences. This narration includes events, views, feelings, opinions and much reflection. The listener (catalyst) is not a passive audience, but demands accountability from the speaker to ensure that socially and self-promoted myths do not intervene.

It is not that the women do not talk about their lives or know about each other's histories, what is different in this new narration is the value that is ascribed to that experience. It no longer remains an isolated, individual experience; instead it is linked to critical mile stones in the settlement's history. This ensures that in future women's role and contribution to making decisions on issues that affect the settlement/community can no longer be marginalised. This introspection enables women to see themselves as agents of change. It reveals to them that this experience is a process of their own creation and worthy of becoming a reference point in discussions.

The next step in the process of self-discovery is to move from individual stories to group histories. Small groups of women are assisted to collectively discuss their experiences and issues related to themselves. When women know about each other's life histories, it is easier to refer to individual incidents in group meetings and discussions. In such discussions, the role of the catalyst is to help women form a collective experience and then build on it.

In subsequent discussions women as well as men participate. At this point the catalyst supports men to narrate the perception of their life history and then integrate it with women's experience in order to build the entire community's history. From this point on, any discussion on the past experience refers to what women and men have contributed to the settlement/community history. This is one of the most difficult stages and marks a watershed in the process.

In this process of reorganizing the community's history there is an on-going debate which discusses who in the community will spearhead the process of change. There is an agreement that it should be those who build and consolidate the settlement, face crises and solve problems. Invariably on these criteria women are endorsed to work as agents of change. The process is difficult and longdrawn because it challenges existing leadership patterns and upsets existing power equations within the community. Women generally avoid confrontations over this matter. They cajole, connive and even manoeuver situations to gradually develop a working relationship with men in the community. The catalyst helps by giving the women space to use their newly found knowledge in facilitating changes in their community equations in a manner and at a pace that they can cope with and make use of. In such an environment, the women that SPARC has worked with have clearly displayed that they have a desire to play crucial roles in decision-making. They have demonstrated that it is possible to develop strategies to set in motion a process leading to the transformation of their situation of subordination within their families and communities.

This experience is significant in itself and especially when viewed against the recognition by the international women's movement that there has been little success in finding ways of effectively challenging gender subordination. An important reason identified[12] for this is the perceived lack of acceptable alternatives which do not entail intolerably high costs. The experience of oppression and subordination that women may suffer is mediated by experiences which could lead many women to conclude that their situation cannot be changed or that attempting to change it will worsen their existing situation which they have learnt to cope with. This belief may not only deter women from taking action to change their situation but may even lead certain categories of women to support the structures and institutions of male domination. In SPARC's work, the transformation of the women's situation of subordination is linked to improving life for the entire community and therefore it is accepted by men and the community as a whole.

The scope provided in the approach devised by SPARC to transcend women's anxiety about the cost of challenging their existing situation has proved to be a crucial feature. After the alliance with Mahila Milan was initiated, men and women whose roles were reorganized through this process began to participate as partners with SPARC. Mahila Milan and NSDF are more effective in this process since they demonstrate to the communities benefits of this rearrangement; and when men discuss this transformation it is even more effective. This is the point after which SPARC no longer plays the role of a catalyst, but hands it over to members of MM and NSDF. They reproduce the process that they have been through with other communities which join the federation.

B. Establishing collective leadership

A critical part of the popular education strategy devised by SPARC is the upgrading of information levels of all members of communities. This is essential for facilitating their participation in the process of mobilization and for establishing collective decision-making. It is also crucial for enabling the communities to demand accountability from the collective leadership. Building people's capabilities to analyse, systematize their knowledge and use it to advance their collective cause is central to community organization initiated by SPARC. This is contrary to the traditional pattern of community structures in poorer settlements in which leaders are often brokers of (political) patronage. They prop up their own position as leaders by exploiting their access to information or knowledge (of the working of government agencies, banks, welfare schemes etc.). They thrive in a situation where people in the community do not have the exposure to the working of such institutions and therefore lack the confidence to seek information themselves. The community leaders use this situation for obtaining gains for themselves. They are, therefore, not interested in changing this situation by building people's capabilities to take on such tasks. In the popular education and community organization strategy devised by SPARC, these traditional leaders usually get side-lined and replaced by a responsive collective leadership.

IV. Popular education using question of shelter

Women living on pavements express as their first priority the need for secure shelter, mainly for the sake of their children. Owing to this consideration SPARC evolved its popular education program around the question of shelter.

Shelter is the most critical question for pavement dwellers. Their lives are fraught with an acute sense of insecurity arising from repeated demolitions by authorities of their shelter and consequent loss of belongings. Demolitions rarely achieve the objective of clearing pavements as their residents almost always manage to return to the same location and erect their shelter all over again. Demolitions, however, not only deplete the meagre asset base of these families but also torment and terrorize them. They are made to feel powerless and begin to regard their situation as hopeless. Apathy sets in as a result. The trauma, anguish and rage felt on account of demolitions gives way to passive acceptance of the situation. The psychological damage caused by demolitions is severe and difficult to remedy. Apathy and the feeling of powerlessness incapacitate people and make them incapable of participating in a process leading to changes in their situation. This is even more true for women in such groups. This poses a big challenge for devising strategies that will change this situation of inaction. In this environment, identifying shelter as a focal point of intervention and women as agents of change is a strategic choice made by SPARC.

In mid-1985 SPARC conducted an enumeration of pavement dwellers (a people's census)[13]. It revealed that nearly 6000 families (27,000 people) lived on pavements in just one district (ward) and four arterial roads in Bombay. The enumeration was conducted as much as a strategy to mobilize the people as to generate information about them (which was scanty) in order to swing public opinion against mass demolitions and to deter the local authority from taking such drastic action[14]. The objective was to bring into focus the reality that a problem of such magnitude and complexity could not be solved by demolishing huts and evicting the people.

Tension and anxiety mounted as the day after which demolitions were expected to begin drew closer. To pavement dwellers' and their supporters' relief, however, mass demolitions did not occur. (This was as much due to intensive work of mobilizing of pavement dwellers done by various organizations as of a play of diverse forces in the local politics.) But the event brought home to pavement dwellers the extent of their vulnerability. Women began to ask how long they would go on accepting such a precarious existence and whether their children's children too would be born on pavements. Not only was their situation desperate — the poverty, hand-to-mouth existence, isolation and hopelessness — but difficulties seemed insurmountable and no solution was in sight.

The threat of imminent demolitions after the Supreme Court judgement provided the critical historical moment for building an alliance between SPARC and pavement dwellers. SPARC felt that the apathy of pavement dwellers could be turned into a positive force galvanizing the people into action provided they:

1. developed a vision of an alternative: The people needed to develop an alternative, working towards which would provide the motivation to shed apathy and take action;

2. conducted organised action: A large enough number of people needed to believe that change was possible;

3. develop stamina and capacity for sustained action: They needed stamina and capacity for a long drawn-out process of

negotiations and lobbying to legitimize and institutionalize the change they desired and demanded.

The impending threat of mass demolitions and anxiety caused by it provided the impetus to focus on the question of shelter. The enumeration of pavement dwellers and subsequent discussions with the people on its findings had created the background for conducting a training programme[15], which explored possible ways of changing the prevailing situation.

Essential features of this training can be described as:

1. A. To organise, along with the community concerned and its leadership, existing knowledge, information and practice that the people have used in working out their shelter strategies.

   B. To examine them in order to understand the circumstances in which the strategies have evolved and to analyse their advantages and drawbacks.

2. A. To identify areas where changes are needed and to articulate why these changes are essential.

   B. To identify the various actors involved, other than the community itself, in order to identify the required skills and resources, and who can contribute to them.

   C. To develop the required skills within the community to undertake the process leading to the desired change.

3. Having developed this understanding, the next phase is to develop skills to articulate the alternative to people within the community, to other communities who are in a similar situation

and to outsiders (professionals, the public and Government officials).

Integral to this training is sustained community mobilization that is essential for carrying on the action through a lengthy process before the alternative can be achieved. Therefore, this training process ensures as an outcome (i) a clear cut understanding of aspirations and (ii) a statement on how the community proposes to achieve them (iii) developing of insights into internal and external factors that will lead to achieving the alternative (iv) recognition of the fact that most critical problems of the poor cannot be resolved without structural change.

The outcome of this training programme becomes the foundation for community action.

The decision to treat this training process as an educational component of community mobilization was somewhat intuitive. On hindsight, its rationale can be described thus: In order to enable poor communities, especially women among them, to work with SPARC as partners in building an alternative, a reorganization of the communities' way of functioning must form an essential feature of this process. A sustainable change is not possible without such a reorganization. Developing specific skills through training cannot ensure their use leading to equity and justice even within these communities if their traditional structures are not reorganized.

A critical part of the training is to upgrade the information level of the entire community, for without this its members are not in a position to participate in the mobilization process. Community members (and not SPARC) then develop criteria for selecting leaders. This ensures that the leaders are accountable to the community. Members of SPARC discuss, argue and negotiate with the people each other's ideas regarding leadership and the final concept emerges from a consensus. Creating processes which allow for negotiations to occur in order to arrive at a consensus is as much part of the training methodology as building actual skills[16].

Group discussions is a mechanism used for arriving at a consensus. The entire community (i.e. men and women) participates in these discussions.

In the process of transformation, the twin factors of women's central participation and collective decisionmaking once endorsed by the community become the most important aspects of the organization process. Some groups and individuals in the community (e.g. the traditional male leaders) may continue to deride these features. Rather than exclude the traditional leaders for their derogatory behaviour, the process of debate and discussion challenges their views until an internal consensus is reached. Once women's participation in creating alternative shelter emerges this in itself creates the basis for a collective leadership.

V. Shelter training programme

In order to understand the shelter training programme in practice, it is useful to describe the first cycle of this training that SPARC and women pavement dwellers developed in 1986 - 87. In the specific case of pavement dwellers, public meetings were arranged in order to discuss impending demolitions and work out strategies to avert them/deal with them. Women's participation, in case such an eventuality occurred, was linked to the »NEED« rather than to a »RIGHT«, by emphasizing that the question of shelter concerned women the most since it was they who made a pavement dwelling (or any dwelling) a home. Further, a crisis such as a demolition was faced generally by women since men are at work when it occurred. After a series of meetings it was accepted (by men) that women would be the spearheads of the training programme. This position was publicly ratified. The key role given to women put women in a position of responsibility which they were willing to shoulder. Any fears, anxieties and doubts that this responsibility created among women were openly discussed so that they did not act as deterrents to their participation. The group took the responsibility of coping with the work collectively.

The first training programme was conducted for 600 women participants. Besides, men also participated sporadically. It was undertaken in an atmosphere that was conducive and congenial to participation by women and the community. Days, timings and agenda of meetings were flexible and organised by women.

Members of SPARC made sure that all critical issues were discussed, however difficult some of them were. They were dealt with by the community in a manner and at a pace that they could handle. The informal atmosphere in which the training took place made women feel at ease. The training used language, form and manner that ensured that the participants were not intimidated. They were, in fact, put in a position of advantage because the discussion began from a narration of their experience.

A number of questions were discussed in the training programme. For example, since the demolition of dwellings was a major concern for pavement dwellers, a detailed discussion of this problem was included in the training. During these discussion, women made analytical observations on a number of issues related to demolitions (i.e. which settlements had to face demolition squads more frequently than others, why it was necessary to build huts using materials that could be dismantled quickly and costs involved in maintaining such structures, the loss of belongings, including food and stored grains, confiscated during demolitions and consequent hardships suffered by them, violence during demolitions etc.) Attention of the participants was then drawn to the distinction between demolition (i.e. destruction of dwellings) and eviction (i.e. preventing people from occupying the pavement). This distinction helped them to differentiate between their inability to save their homes and their strength in resisting being evicted altogether from the pavement. The group then listed all the actors involved in the drama. This led to an exploration of possible alternative responses to impending demolitions.

It became clear in these discussions that these families did not wish to reside on pavements. They were willing to move to alternative sites in the city to attain secure shelter. Until this alternative became a reality, which the participants recognised would be a very long process, it was essential to devise ways of minimizing the psychological and economic damage caused by demolition of shelter. Several steps were planned to deal with such an eventuality (and subsequently executed).

Some of them were:

- Women delegates visited the municipal ward office and the local police station, and demanded and obtained clear information on the stipulated procedure to be followed during demolitions. It became clear to them, for example, that the presence of the police was as much to protect the people as to effect violence-free demolitions. This information was passed on to all members of the community to be made use of when required.
- A »battle plan« was drawn up to face demolitions collectively with residents of neighbouring settlements coming to assist (e.g. in dismantling huts in order to save the ignominy and indignity of hacking of dwellings by the demolition squad, providing food to the affected families on the day their homes are demolished). This plan is now routinely practised when facing demolitions. This has helped break the feeling of isolation and create a feeling of solidarity among pavement dwellers.

The next stage was to develop an alternative for the question of shelter. The crucial issue here related to the question of availability of land. Pavement and slum dwellers have repeatedly been told by the local and housing authorities that there is no land available in Bombay where they can be accomodated. This myth had to be broken and in order to do that vacant stretches of land were located (on the Development Plan of the city, from information received from slum dwellers living in other areas and from professionals in the relevant departments of the state government). Visits were arranged to inspect these sites. The training programme included the gathering of information, checking out its validity and arranging visits so that each member of the community saw the vacant land. For many, especially women, this was their first visit to another area of the city, using public transport. The site visits provided an opportunity for the people to interact with other communities and this strengthened the basis of networking.

Having established that vacant land exists in Bombay, the next complex question that needed to be thrashed out was why it was not officially available to the poor. This discussion illustrated how people began to grasp that their deprivation was a result of a number of external forces. It made them aware of the magnitude of change that is required to fulfill their aspiration of secure shelter.

By now people felt comfortable being part of large groups. However, it became unwieldy and unrealistic for everyone to participate in everything. Not everyone had the time or the capability for doing various concrete tasks that needed to be done. By this stage a point had been reached where some of the participants had shown qualities of prime movers and leaders.

The group in turn was, by now, seeking representatives for doing future work and a process of identifying collective leadership began. Essentially leaders were to be those who could share, nurture, support and assist, those who sought to do the work rather than wield power, those who wished to contribute their efforts and found time to do what needed to be done.

From one out of every 15 houses a woman was chosen to assume the responsibility of carrying out concrete tasks. Such representatives together formed Area Committees. They had to conduct regular meetings with members of the 15 houses and be a link for communication between them and the rest of the community. This is a mechanism still used today by which every person in the community is kept informed and which ensures that the communication chain is maintained.

The women chosen to be members of Area Committees had to acquire various skills and play specific roles. They were required to learn to involve everyone and also facilitate collective decision-making. They received support and feedback on their work from SPARC and members of the community. These women representatives, because of their communication skills, became trainers in other communities.

In order to collect basic information which was necessary for planning their alternative settlement, each cluster had to do a simple exercise of counting the exact number of families that lived there. Since they had never been involved in such a task before, the exercise was important for undertaking the gathering of statistical information about themselves and using it with confidence in discussions to support their arguments. Besides, SPARC's experience had shown that an enumeration can be used as a powerful tool for mobilizing people. For these reasons, it was decided that Area Committee members would perform this task for their individual groups of 15 houses (although information about each cluster existed in the census of pavement dwellers conducted earlier by SPARC).

This exercise was a watershed in the training programme. An anomaly surfaced in that the number of structures (huts) did not match the number of families living in the cluster — because of the renting out of parts of huts, huts being used for conducting income earning activities, vested interests attempting to claim more space, stronger families trying to outdo weaker ones and so on. There was tension that had to be resolved. Enumeration was conducted in each cluster several times until the findings satisfied a majority and a consensus was reached. The whole process contributed significantly to group-building.

For women the enumeration exercise was the first major concrete task that they did collectively. This gave them a sense of accomplishment and boosted their confidence. They obtained insight into community dynamics and began to understand processes by which Area Committee members could be co-opted by outsiders or community members. The process made them aware of the need to carefully set norms for space allocation so that the needs of every community member could be fulfilled. They developed a team spirit which formed a basis for collective leadership in place of traditional leaders.

The next step in the training was to design the dwelling and settlement. While women dream of the kind of houses they would want to live in, they were realistic about their means and resources, and the needs of the community. They analysed the existing allocation of space for various functions in their dwellings. This helped to identify family space against collective/community space. The importance of sharing space and amenities was discussed.

On the basis of this analysis, requirements of individual dwellings were worked out. They were discussed with professionals. Women defended their choices/decisions[17]. Architects/engineers explained the importance of natural light and proper ventilation and space management. They discussed the importance of developing a prototype. The presence of SPARC at these meetings ensured that the professionals were informed and sympathetic, they were neither overbearing nor romantic about people's participation, and that there was frank dialogue. After a series of meetings, designs of dwellings and settlement evolved.

The training programme included a discussion on existing public housing schemes for the poor. Officials from the housing authority were invited to make presentations before groups of women. Visits to public housing projects by a core group of women were arranged in Bombay and other cities. Pamphlets providing information on various housing schemes were obtained and translated by SPARC staff members into appropriate languages.

Women compared their dwelling and settlement designs with those in official schemes and assessed public housing designs for suitability for their own needs. During visits to housing projects they asked the residents those questions which they had asked themselves when planning their dwellings. They explained their design choices to these residents. In this process a critique of public housing projects emerged.

The whole exercise involved:

1. An analysis of their own life styles, and their means and resources in order to arrive at a relevant dwelling/settlement design.

2. Articulating their design choices to professionals and defending their decisions.

3. Developing prototypes with the help of professionals.
4. Collecting information on public housing schemes and assessing them for suitability.

Subsequently, full-scale dwelling models were built by women (using timber, cloth, paper in the first training programme; in subsequent programmes other materials such as brick and concrete were also used). An exhibition was organised which was visited by slum dwellers, professionals and Government officials. Women showed and discussed the dwelling models with the visitors who had diverse interests in the exhibition. To slum dwellers it demonstrated ways of upgrading their houses and settlements; to government officials and professionals it was not only a clear expression of people's ability to plan shelter meticulously but it also broke stereotyped images of the poor being incapable of working out suitable alternatives.

Starting from an analysis of their existing situation to working out a concrete structure for shelter took a period of nearly 18 months. Having conceptualized dwelling and settlement designs, the next phase in the training programme was to discuss the »hardware« of housing i.e. the three major components of building materials, finance and land.

i) Building materials: Women visited building material depots to determine which of them were appropriate for their use and enquired about prices. They also learnt actual construction, estimating cost of construction, delivery systems and later supervising construction work.

ii) Finance: Pavement dwellers are fully aware that alternative shelter would not be provided free of charge. They started putting aside small amounts of money regularly in a bank for paying for shelter. In addition, they made enquiries about loan facilities for housing from established credit sources.

Each househould has a bank account in the name of the woman. Community leaders assist each family to open a bank account. Periodic assessment of total savings is done against the target set on the basis of estimates of dwelling costs. Women who once regarded entering a bank intimidating and operating bank accounts formidable, now do this work with ease and confidence. Regular saving of money has inculcated discipline among the people and awareness regarding planning for the future — both values alien to those leading a hand-to-mouth existence.

Discussion with housing finance institutions has now been initiated and is continuing. Considerable amounts put aside as housing savings so far by pavement dwellers as a group show the level of readiness of the people to participate in housing projects. This is contrary to the traditional view held by government authorities that pavement dwellers are neither willing to pay towards housing nor are they capable of saving money regularly.

iii) Land: In the case of pavement dwellers the acquiring of land is the most difficult proposition. They have had to start with a struggle for recognition of their legitimacy. Even this has been achieved only marginally. Establishing land rights is a distant goal. Negotiating with government authorities for land has been initiated but constitutes a long and painful process[18].

Urban land is a highly valuable resource. To tilt its allocation in favour of the urban poor (i.e. those who are incapable of competing in the land or housing market) is a major political battle[19].

The complexity of and enormous difficulties in the task of obtaining secure shelter have not so far deterred pavement dwellers from refining their training programme or assisting other groups of urban poor in developing their shelter alternatives. It is a continuing evidence of solidarity among marginalised groups that pavement dwellers have assisted those groups of slum dwellers who have been allotted land to design and construct their homes, although their own quest for land remains unfulfilled. Because the struggle for shelter is part of the larger struggle for social change, every small step forward in either the specific shelter situation or in the context of urban poverty and deprivation feeds into the other and strengthens it.

VI. Illustrating outcome of popular education

In conclusion this section illustrates various elements described in the paper. There are:

a) The challenge of ensuring women's participation in the process of change and specifically in the shelter situation.

b) Strategies of popular education which not only create means for people to participate in formulating these strategies but in reproducing them in a manner which ensures women's central participation and community control over the adaptation and reproduction of these processes.

Most existing shelter training materials for women[20] is a case of a top-down approach. It embodies an approach which refers to the »condition« of women and not to their »position« (see section I). Such an approach has severe limitations for improving the status of women. In the shelter training programme devised by SPARC, the focus is on empowering women. It has, firstly, created a positive self-image of women and secondly, has created mechanisms to sustain it. This has transformed their perception of themselves from individuals who are not worthy of associating with the better-off and professionals and who are incapable of making any contribution, to individuals who can act as catalysts in the process of change. Their increased self-esteem has changed their role within their families and the community. Thirdly, by locating the process of reproduction of this training within women's collectives, it has ensured that women's participation is sustained in all decision-making areas both in their communities and in the federations of which these communities are members. For example:

A. This empowerment process acknowledges women's need to integrate their own empowerment with the fulfillment of needs of their families and communities. This has always remained a challenge to educators working with poor women. In SPARC's approach, women's self-esteem is enhanced by taking up issues in those priority areas which have helped resolve crises faced by such communities. For example:

    1. Obtaining ration cards entitling the families to buy food grains, cooking oil and fuel at subsidized rates.

    2. Dealing with harassment by the police — changing humiliating treatment given by officials previously to due respect to women's opinion.

    3. Transforming the feeling of intimidation and a lack of access to institutions such as banks into a situation where bank staff welcome poor women to open bank accounts and invite women's collectives to advise on loan applications by members of their communities.

    4. Dealing with municipal officials at the local ward level — transforming the fear and the feeling of helplessness caused by repeated demolitions into ensuring accountability from public servants.

Women's judicious decision-making has established their credibility among not only their community members, but also with larger federations and public authorities. This has created an effective spiral where women's capacity to undertake tasks related to community well-being is supported by the community and this, in turn, creates the space for collective introspection into women's strategic interests.

B. The empowerment approach devised by SPARC uses shelter as a focus because this is regarded as the most pressing and critical problem by pavement dwellers with whom SPARC has chosen to begin its work. However, the question of shelter is only a means to achieving the alternative vision that women have built collectively. The devising of a strategy for action is a complex process for it must be harnessed both to resolve immediate problems and address long-term goals. In the case of pavement dwellers, efforts to gain access to secure shelter addresses their immediate predicament, at the same time it lays the foundation for contributing to the fulfillment of an alternative vision.

This approach acknowledges that having explored possible alternatives, isolated efforts at achieving them cannot bring much result; the larger context of mobilizing increasing numbers of communities is an essential factor. Creating educational strategies to give impetus to larger and larger numbers of people to take action contributes to this end.

A number of ferderations of slum and pavement dwellers now have educational tools to assist communities

1. to undertake enumerations — a process by which they create a data base which is required for designing strategies and negotiating with the state[21];

2. to design mechanisms of savings and credit to fulfill community members' needs for tiding over family crises, needs for loans for small businesses and saving for shelter;

3. to design dwellings and execute house construction, and manage basic amenities;

4. to link communities which are doing any of the above with those who aspire to take action, through a horizontal exchange between communities.

While the scope of the work that SPARC, MM and NSDF have embarked on together has expanded, it has so far primarily involved internal reorganization of poor and deprived groups. The challenge of securing adequate shelter has now moved to a larger arena, for it is a struggle for a greater share of resources. This is related to the political economy of urban development. The struggle for secure shelter is even harder in the present context of globalisation and liberalization of various services, for access to even basic necessities of decent living for the poor cannot be achieved without state intervention.

Notes

1. Member federations are the Pavement Dwellers Federations, the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation, Charavi Vikas Camiti, Dharavi Vyavasay Akta Samiti, the Federation of the Airport Authority Land Dwellers. Taken together these federations have a membership of nearly 315,000 families.
2. The following review draws extensively on an overview presented by Walters, Shirley in »Her words on this lips: gender and popular education in South Africa«, ASPBAE Courier, No. 52, 1991.
3. Sen, Gita and Caren Crown: Development, Crises and Alternative Visions, Third World Women's Perspective Monthly Review Press, 1987.
4. Moser, Caroline: »Gender planning in the Third World: Meeting practical and strategic gender needs«, World Development, 1989.
5. This 'tool' for analysis has been developed by Kate Young, cited in Walters, Shirley — op.cit.
6. Walters, Shirley — ibid.

7. The differentiation identified by Maxine Molyneux, referred to in Walters, Shirley — ibid.
8. Developed by Kate Young, referred to in Walters, Shirley — ibid.
9. Walters, Shirley — ibid.
10. Walters, Shirley — ibid.
11. It is estimated that 35,000 families lived on pavements in Bombay in 1985
12. by Kate Young, referred to in Walters, Shirley — ibid.
13. SPARC: Me, the invisible, Bombay, 1985.
14. The demolishing of pavement dwellings in Bombay was expected to begin any time after 31st October (the end of the monsoon) that year. In a judgment given by the Supreme Court, the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) was directed not to remove dwellings on pavements during the monsoon in order to save the residents hardships caused by being rendered homeless in the rain. In 1981, after the BMC attempted to evict pavement dwellers after demolishing their huts, a writ petition was filed in the Supreme Court challenging this action. The Supreme Court in its judgment given in 1985 ruled that the BNC was empowered by the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act to remove encroachments, including huts, from pavements.
15. What is undertaken under this training programme is, no doubt, an exercise in community organization/mobilization. We call it »training« because it is a process which once developed can be used by other marginalised and poor groups in their struggle to achieve their goals. It is essentially a systematization of knowledge and information and designing of strategies to develop requisite skills.
16. By negotiations we mean a debate between people holding different points of view to arrive at a consensus/agreement. Deprived groups generally do not have any experience of negotiating with authorities who allocate resources. The poor are regarded as beneficiaries for whom decisions are made. The training process provides opportunities for them to build skills to negotiate.
17. For instance, women opted for shared toilets — one toilet to be shared by 4 families. This was contrary to professionals' view that each dwelling should have its independent toilet facility. Women argued that placing a toilet in the confined space of their small dwellings is not hygienic. Further, community toilets would be constructed by the authorities at their cost while internal toilets would increase considerably the costs to be borne by the occupier. Further, shared toilets would serve as a deterrent to higher income groups buying out the poor households and dispossessing them of the dwelling.
18. Even today there is no public housing scheme that mentions pavement dwellers. However, the Planning Commission, Government of India, has allocated Rs. 750,000.- in 1988 for each of the 4 metropolitan cities in India, towards setting up rehabilitation projects for pavement dwellers. This money to

this day remains unutilised in Bombay becaue the local authority still refuses to acknowledge the presence of slum dwellers in the city, let alone allocate land for rehabilitating them.

19. Bapat, Meera — Allocation of Urban Space: Rhetoric and Reality — Evidence from Recent Jurisprudence, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXV, No. 28, 14 July 1990.

20. For example Moser, Caroline and Sylvia Chant — The role of women in the execution of Low-income Housing Projects Training Module, DPU gender and Planning Working Paper, No. 6, Development Planning Unit, London, 1985.

21. See SPARC: Beyond the Beaten Track: Resettlement Initiatives of people who live along the railway tracks in Bombay, 1988. Nearly 18,000 families (97,000 people) who live along railway tracks in Bombay were enumerated in conjunction with government officials.

    An enumeration of pavement dwellers in Madras in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India was conducted in 1989 - 90 in order to design a rehabilitation scheme for pavement dwellers. This work was officially assigned by the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority to SPARC, MM and NSDF.

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Sheela Patel / Celine D'Cruz. The Mahila Milan Crisis Credit Scheme: From a Seed to a Tree.

MAHILA MILAN is a federation of women's collectives in Bombay, whose work includes supporting the needs of its members for both savings and credit. This paper describes a crisis credit scheme which is funded by the savings of the poor.

Copies are available from:
SPARC, P.O. Box 9389, Bombay 400026, India.

Women, Ink. Information and Training Resources... April 1993.

Women, Ink. markets and distributes development-oriented resource materials worldwide to individuals and groups engaged in women's and development activities. Women, Ink. is a project of the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC) and is supported through publication sales and financial assistance from the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

For further information, please contact:
Women, Ink., 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA.

The Teach and Tools Book. A Guide to Technologies Women are Using Worldwide.

In order to encourage and increase women's access to, use of, and control of technologies, the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC), the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Appropriate Technology Advisory Committee (ATAC) organized »Teach and Tools: An Appropriate Technology Event for Women at Forum '85« in Nairobi/Kenya. This manual is the work of hundreds of women working on appropriate technology projects with women's groups around the world; it will most certainly encourage the establishment of many similar women's technology projects.

Copies can be obtained as long as stocks last from:
Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, Obere Wilhelmstraße 32, 53225 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

For the movement on Low-External-Input and Sustainable Agriculture (LEISA) networking is an important tool. During a workshop in the Philippines in March 1992, attended by some 40 participants from 23 countries, experiences in networking were evaluated. The authors summarize the lessons of the workshop. This article is a reprint from the journal »Gate« No. 4/92.

Bertus Haverkort / Laurens van Veldhuizen / Carine Alders

Networking for sustainable agriculture

The workshop was organized jointly by the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR), World Neighbors and ILEIA (Information Centre for Low External Input and Sustainable Agriculture, The Netherlands). The objective of the workshop was to make an inventory of experience in networking and to indicate ways in which networking could further enhance sustainable agriculture.

There are two main reasons why we feel that networking is important and should be given more attention. First of all, the approach to development is changing. Development activities used to be organised in a top-down way. There was little need for organisations at different levels, like grassroot, extension and research, to share experiences and give mutual support. Information supposingly trickles down from researchers to extension officers to individual farmers.

It becomes clear now, that this kind of information is too general, may not be relevant, and does not respond quickly enough to the changing environment farmers find themselves in. Emphasis is now rather on strengthening the capacity of farmers and communities to experiment, to become active developers and selectors of information they need. In other words, farmers, development organisations and researchers need to develop new technologies in a participatory way. For this approach, networking is a must.

Secondly, networking may be a tool to overcome major bottlenecks in developing Low-External-Input and Sustainable Agriculture. Some of these bottlenecks are related to agricultural development policies. These often still blindly favour agricultural intensification, where specialisation and high levels of external inputs are the keywords. They are mostly focussed on marketable and export commodities rather than on food crops for local consumption. Subsidies support the use of chemical farm inputs rather than at enhancing local biological and physical resources.

Bottlenecks

It is clear that a shift in these policies will not come automatically. An impact can only be made if farmers' groups, NGOs and reor-

Major bottlenecks in developing low-external-input and sustainable agriculture are related to agricultural development policies. *Foto: Annette von Lossau*

search ganisations work together. Here too, networking can play a major role. Other bottlenecks relate to development support organisations themselves. The tasks they face are manifold and complex. In the field of agricultural technologies they need to be aware of newly emerging technical and methodological possibilities to fit various local situations. They need skills in participatory methods of working with farmers. They must develop links with government agencies to obtain support for their field programmes and they have to follow national and international developments.

Rather than each individual organisation carrying out this great variety of tasks for themselves, cooperation should be sought. In a network, development organisations could combine strengths and divide tasks.

During the workshop, we used the following definition:

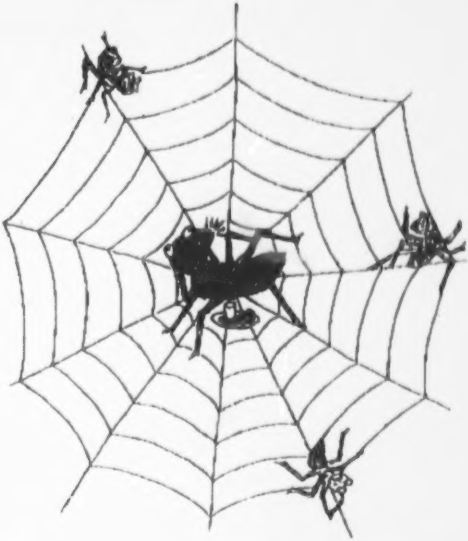
A network is any group of individuals and/or organisations who on a voluntary basis, exchange information or goods or implement joint activities and who organised themselves in such a way that the individual autonomy remains intact.

However, networks can have many different forms and use different procedures depending on the specific situation. The participants of the Philippine workshop represented a wide variety of network types. Formal and more informal networks were represented, some working on a local level while others had a more global orientation, some specialised in one issue while others focussed on sustainable agriculture in general. This allowed the workshop to explore the comparative advantages of and the complimentarity between these types of networks.

Paving the way

Networks are emerging at all levels at rapid speed. Although this is a positive process, it is realised now that one needs to spend some time defining the network's objectives before jumping into largescale structures and activities. In some cases, the network organisers may have a clear vision of their objectives, but have not formally articulated or communicated these objectives to other participants in the network. The result is that the network has a difficult time in determining its direction or activities, lacks a unifying theme and cannot sustain the interest of its participants.

Based on experiences of workshop participants, a number of questions could be formulated which need to be answered before a network is started. These include:



One of the management problems in networking: centralization. Illustration: Studio Driya Media/ILEIA

- Are there concrete common problems and constants faced by potential members and are they aware of these?
- Are there relevant results/experiences that could be shared?
- Do potential members have a good idea of what a network is and what it would mean to them?
- Are they prepared to spend the necessary time and energy in sharing and networking at the expense of their own programmes?
- Is there an atmosphere of openness among potential members which allows them to admit mistakes and learn from them?

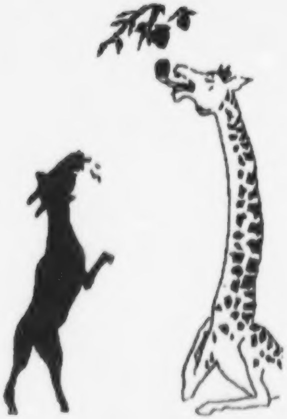
Only when the initiators have taken these issues into consideration, can the development of a network proceed.

Building foundations

Based on the experiences of recently established networks the workshop succeeded in defining important elements in a methodology for building strong, independent field-based networks. For anyone who takes the initiative for such a network, a crucial first step would be to look already at this stage for partners, other interested parties to »carry« the process. It means that some form of initiating group is formed, an adhoc committee with representatives of different organisations, NGOs, and individuals. In order to allow the committee to do their preparatory work, they may need assistance from a support organisation which could make some seed money available to cover travel and communication costs, as well as costs for the constituting meeting of the network.

This ad-hoc committee should start with an inventory of the felt need for a network and of the available experience and expertise. On the basis of this inventory, a register of organisations with experience in the field of LEISA could be made, the problems experienced by them could be inventorised and the feasibility of a network be analysed. In fact, even where a network did not come off the ground, the register continues to be an important source of information.

A statement of intent for a possible network would then be formulated by this committee to be presented to potential members at a constituting meeting. The meeting should agree on the intention, objectives, structure and activities of the network. For implementation of activities and the necessary financial resources, networks should always first mobilise and use the capacities, experiences, and funds from member organisations. Only where this would not be sufficient, additional structures like a network secretariat, could be established and funding proposals be forwarded to donor agencies.



Hierarchical differences: Membership disparity. Illustration: Studio Driya Media/ILEIA

Of course this is not a blueprint on how to start a network, nor should a starting network be too formalised, but it does show the importance of a careful, step-by-step development of the network. Experience has also shown that face-to-face contact is crucial in building a network. Well designed and managed workshops will therefore often be a central network event. Some very effective networks are nothing more than a series of such workshops.

Facing the problem

The problems encountered in networking are mostly closely connected to either structure, its management, resources and monitoring and evaluation. Farmer-based networks for example often face the need for informal structures with flexible activities at village level. NGO networks on the other hand struggle to develop clear criteria for membership; on the one hand, anyone who wants to contribute seems to be welcome; on the other hand there is the need for a joint vision and mission to maintain network coherence.

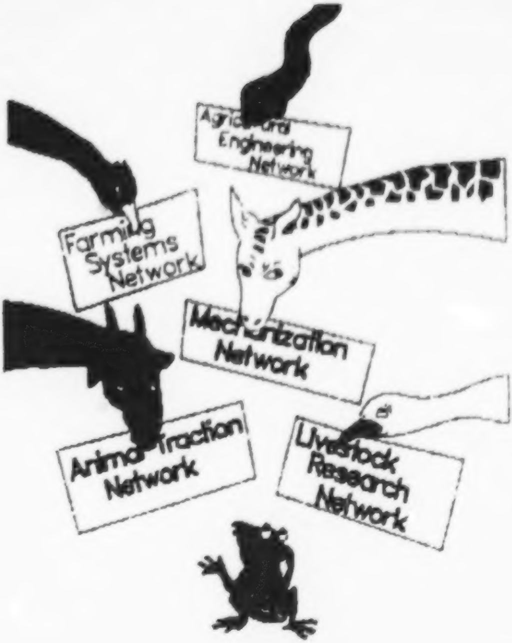
In managing networks the key challenge is to maintain a balance between coordination and pooling of resources on the one hand and promoting decentralisation and maintaining active involvement and committment of members on the other. To find this balance, rotation of leadership is considered important to avoid monopolisation and concentration of knowledge and power. The internal processes of management should be evaluated periodically, preferably with the help of outsiders.

For any network to be operational, resources would be required, like funds and, what's more important, time from members. Often it is felt that network activities compete for time with members' own activities. This situation could be prevented by making sure that network activities clearly serve the actual needs of members and their programmes.

So far, most networking experiences have been based on trial and error. Although a lot of lessons can already be formulated, networking can be done on the basis of a blueprint. Continuous monitoring and evaluations are therefore essential. The workshop developed some first guidelines.

Strengthening the movement

The discussion on the role of networks to enhance LEISA does and should not stop at the closure of the workshop. The workshop therefore formulated several recommendations to improve networking for low-external-input and sustainable agriculture and its key activities. Among others it was recomended that the evolution for farmer based networks should be promoted and ways of linking different types of existing networks should be studied. Management capacities for networking should be strengthened by promoting inter-network visits, developing a resource book and organising training courses. Support organisations should also get to-


Agricultural
Engineering
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Farming
Systems
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Mechanization
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Animal Traction
Network
Livestock
Research
Network

Networks are emerging at all levels at rapid speed. Although this is a positive process, it is realised now that one needs to spend some time defining the network's objectives before jumping into large-scale structures. Illustration: Studio Driya Media/ILEIA

gether to study their possible role in further enhancing networks. Other recommendations referred to the role networks should play in areas like marketing of LEISA produce, training, and advocacy and policy dialogue.

Task forces were initiated to start working on each group of recommendations. Each task force consists at least of several participants to the workshop from different parts of the world, but others have joined afterwards for their specific interest.

The workshop generated of course much more detailed information on experiences of networks, on the problems they faced and the solutions they found. Part of this information is published in a special issue of the ILEIA Newsletter »Let's work together«. This also contains a complete list of papers of workshop participants. To obtain more information, please contact the authors at ILEIA.

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Veronica McGivney / Frances Murray. Adult Education in Development. Methods and Approaches from Changing Societies.

This book has been published by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) with assistance from the British Council. It is a collection of case studies concerning the themes literacy, health, rural development and women in development. It aims to provide examples of initiatives which illustrate the role of adult education in development and the important contribution it can make to the process of change in developing societies.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

We all realize the dramatic changes in society all over the world. This is true for countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, even more so for those who are challenged by developments due to political change, especially in Eastern Europe. Technological changes are asking for even faster developments in the so-called developed countries. All of this creates new learning opportunities and demands for the people who are actively participating in these processes, or are suffering from them. It seems adult education can help in some respects, but much more needs to be done, not only on the level of more providing institutions. Dr. Paul Bélanger is the Director of the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg. If you want to contact him, please write to: UNESCO Institute for Education, Feldbrunnenstraße 58, P.O. Box 13 10 23, 10110 Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany.

Paul Bélanger

Adult education: The learning demand and the existing responses

The most significant trend in adult and continuing education is probably the present expansion of the learning demand among the adult population in post-industrial societies as well as in the less developed countries. The demographic, economic and cultural factors at work behind this trend will in the future expand this demand even further.

The sustained increase of this social demand, however, does not necessarily lead to a similar growth in the institutionalized adult education provision and participation. We have to analyze the current difficult match between the learning demand and the existing responses. The dynamics between the social demand and the present education responses give place to interesting innovations but raise also political and cultural questions.

1. The social demand for learning opportunities

The social demand for learning opportunities among the adult population is increasing as never before.

1.1 An expanding social demand

It is well known that adult education has been expanding continuously since the 1960s in all the industrialized countries. Yet this sustained growth of the past 30 years is currently experiencing a new upsurge. In Canada for instance, one adult in five was following an adult education programme in 1983 as opposed to one in 14 in 1969. In Sweden, compared with one in five in 1975, one out of every two adults are now taking part annually in adult education activities in 1990. In France, enrolments for continuing training in connection with work tripled between 1972 and 1987.

Some indications of such trends are now appearing in Africa and Latin America (Carr — Hill, 1988). However more research is needed to assess not only the changing social demand, but also the effect of the present financial constraints (Structural Adjustment Program, national debts, etc.) on the possibilities to meet such aspirations and thus the contextual pressure tending to reduce the expression of this very demand.

The expansion of the learning demand is due to economic, demographic and cultural factors at work in the different societies, although differently and in varying degrees.

1.2 The economic factor

Until now, this expansion has been mainly analyzed in its relation to economic development. Competitiveness and the quest for greater productivity in an economic area that now covers entire continents, are undoubtedly speeding the pace of change in production methods and are tending to boost demand for vocational training. And since waiting for skills to change with the changing of the generations takes too long, one has to turn to adult education.

One of the most significant features of the present situation, unlike previous periods, is that the demand for work-related adult education tends to become more widespread at the different levels of the national employment structures. The discovery of a literacy problem among the active population in most industrial areas in the North as well as in the South, is a strong indicator of this trend. Before, the priority was on the upper layers of the occupational ladder, since in such division of work the skill requirement of the »unskilled« and semi-skilled was very low. It is relatively recent that countries like Britain first, then Australia, Austria, Canada, France, the Netherlands and the United States, and more recently Germany and Sweden are acknowledging that a significant percentage of the adult population (higher than 20% for example in Canada) are unable to read and write sufficiently well to communicate or to participate in re-training activities (Giere, Hautecœur, 1990).

The upward trend can also be accounted for by the fact that economies are increasingly introducing new technologies in production. Such technological changes do not necessarily lead to the improvement of the work posts requiring new skills and hence creating a new learning demand. In some cases the management relies on »external flexibility« measures and thus creates a new social divide in the labor market between regular employees and contractual workers. In other contexts the strategy is rather on »internal flexibility« with a priority on re-training.

Another interesting indicator of the present shift is the current debate on the issue of passive (VS) active labour policy, and the leadership now played by Germany and Scandinavia for the promotion of active policies (including incentives to further education) bringing again a fresh increase in the demand for continuing vocational training.

The emergence of such knowledge-intensive economies is however accompanied by a new international division between these and the other economies required to specialize their national economies on labor intensive production and repetitive work. The consequence of this economic trend on a new social international divide in the demand for adult learning will become a crucial issue. In short the economic factors at work in industrialized societies are now creating a strong upsurge in the learning-training demand, but also at a rate that may rapidly widen the already huge gap between these societies and the developing countries.

1.3 The demographic factor

The economic factors are not the only forces at work to create this upsurge of the learning demand. The lowering of the age of retirement, the increased life expectancy, the rapidly improving health condition of the young generation of the aging population, their demand to play an active role, the emergence of social movements (»Gray Power«) to carry this demand, all these factors together produce a »new socio-cultural space« offering adult education one of its »new frontiers«. This demographic trend will contribute much to raise the learning demand.

However, this general trend conceals the fact that conditions differ considerably at different levels of society, particularly where elderly workers are concerned who have fallen victim to plant closures and industrial restructuring in North America, Western Europe and more recently in Eastern Europe. More and more people aged between 50 and 55, are being ousted from the labour market five to 15 years before the date at which they would normally start to receive their pensions, which are often severely reduced through high inflation rates.

The learning demand of the aging population is also conditioned by the social perception of their capacity to learn. There is since 10 years, in social and educational gerontology as well as in cognitive psychology, a new interest to research the learning capacity of the aging people. The conclusions of recent research (Bélanger 1992b) are clear:

- No significant general decrease before at least the age of 75, if not 80 years old;
- An adaptive capacity of aging persons to select, optimize and substitute skills in order to compensate for a possible decrease in psycho-motor skills;
- The awareness capacity of aging adults not only to maintain but to increase their performance, including the memory.

These validated observations and the increasing number of success stories point to the learning potential and hence to an important implicit learning demand among the aging population.

Nevertheless strong prejudices exist on the learning capacity of the aging population and give legitimacy to the exclusion of so many older workers from the re-training programs under the pretext that they will not be able to benefit from them. This creates a serious erosion of the right to work and to participate, and of the right to learn of the older workers.

1.4 The social factor

The solution of many social problems, in post-welfare states, is being found in strategies relying on the civil society, on participation and learning. The nearly attained limit of health curative strategies and the need for efficient preventive approaches, the urgency to improve agricultural productivity and to maintain fishing stocks, the need for family planning, the reduction of air and water pollution, as well as the growing conflicts arising in present multi-cultural societies, are all problems that proved to be insolvable without a large, sustained and creative participation of the adult population. Such trends are also bound to create an unforeseen and unknown social demand for adult learning.

1.5 The cultural factor

A first cultural factor explaining the current increase in the social demand for learning opportunities is the cumulative nature of cultural practices among which are school attendance and continuing education. The higher a population's rate of school attendance, the more participation in socio-cultural and educational activities tends to increase. In other words, the huge increase in the number of children being sent to primary, secondary and post-secondary schools heralds a rise in the demand for adult education. This predicting factor will certainly have a bearing on the future of adult education in a world where initial education is progressing.

There is however the other side of the coin — the unequal initial learning achievement and its consequence for further continuing education. Without this initial take-off, many adults, in spite of their aspirations, remain caught up in the vicious circle of limited access to further education, rare job opportunities and difficult life conditions.

A second socio-cultural factor: the breakdown of »cultural supremacy« of work in post-industrial societies. Today's post-industrial societies have come a long way since the 72-hour week with little or no holidays. The time spent working is being shortened from all sides, e.g. the fact that people start looking for work at a later age, the lowering of the age of retirement, longer annual holidays, including leave for training, for maternity and for paternity, the shorter working week, part-time work, etc. Work is losing its monopoly as the main focus of one's lives, the deciding factor in all situations, the main source of conflicts that drive society, and the focal life-experience that determines our social and cultural participation. To see who the adult student population are going to be and to meet their expectations, we shall need to know much more than their job and their attitude towards work.

While the learning demand related to changes in the work place will continue to grow, a series of other life-experience and social issues and conflicts will create other demands. It will be increasingly difficult to understand the trend in the demand for continuing training without taking into account the new social forces: the ecological movement, feminism, peace and solidarity movements, activities to develop interpersonal relationships between men and women or parents and children, associations of senior citizens, the revival of regional cultures and national languages, and so on.

The closed association made so often between productivity and paid-work is also being questioned. The concept of productivity tends indeed to be too narrowly defined. In fact, are the contribution of women during maternity leave, the voluntary participation of citizens to clean a river, the contribution of grandparents to take care of children and reinforcing the school learning, the involvement of citizen groups developing a community corporation, the collaboration of parents learning how to avoid serious diseases during early childhood, the role of retired persons for the integration of immigrants, are each and all of these so called »non productive activities«, without economic return as measurable as the production of goods? The identification of wage-earners with productivity, or of aging with social inutility does not stand with the current reality.

1.6 Conclusion

It is in the context of these economic, demographic, social and cultural transformations just mentioned, a context that varies from one country to another, that the social demand for learning opportunities takes shape and changes. Thus priority will most probably once again be given to adult learning, as it was in the 1970s, at which time the concept of 'lifelong education' was being launched at UNESCO (Faure, 1972) however this is now taking place in a different context.

2. The responses raise political and cultural questions

The learning demand is expected to grow further, but that does necessarily mean an increase in the existing adult education responses. In the eighties, we have seen in some countries a serious decrease in the public adult education provision and an attempt with limited success to integrate adult learners in the formal educational system in order to solve the problems raised by the severe budgetary constraints imposed during that period.

Adult education is in fact going through an institutional crisis, raising political and cultural questions.

2.1 An institutional and epistemological crisis

There is an institutional and epistemological problem, because the learning demand provokes provisions that often get developed outside the territory of institutionalized adult education. The learning demand grows and leads to responses based on new terms of reference and using terminology often unknown to the existing adult education institutions. Indeed the learning opportunities offered to adults in post-initial education are a two poles reality. Two dimensions are always present though at various degree: the problem or content dimension and the learning or process dimension. The whole field of adult learning opportunities can be seen as a continuum of possibilities going from predominantly problem-centered activities at one end to activities developed first of all as learning experiences and/or as educational programs at the other end.

My hypothesis is that the fastest growing sector in the actual provision of learning opportunities for adults is of the first type: that is issue-oriented activities very often conceived outside the institutionalized frame of reference of the existing adult education delivery system and directly related to the solution of problems. So much so that a spontaneous view of adult education in a country, like the overview that a reporter on education will most probably make, will cover the activities done under the label of institutionalized names: adult and continuing education, further education, retraining of workers, and may be also training within industry and the night courses offered by educational institutions, but it may leave aside many more activities of the other type developed under different names by other ministries and organizations: environment sessions, human resource development activities, preventive health briefing, community education, self-learning, the learning opportunities offered by movements and associations, the media, the libraries, the specialized exhibits, etc.

It is necessary to reconstruct this whole reality of organized adult learning, to trace it under the various names, the different institutional arrangements and the many ministries it presents itself.

Why does it matter so much to trace, all along the continuum mentioned above, all the learning activities? Because of the »learning« pole or dimension of each and all of these activities, and of the inevitable relations between these un-related learning experiences in one's life course. It is important because this critical and growing mass of »problem oriented learning activities« cannot be ignored from a lifelong learning perspective and should be taken into account in order to build on them and on their cumulative educational effect.

The recognition of the »andragogical« pole of these activities is also crucial to improve the quality and thus the »learning« output of these interventions, to help solve the refered problem. It is, for example, extremely relevant to be able to anticipate the danger of developing an environmental educational strategy or an industrial reconversion plan or a preventive cancer drive that may only reach the »educated« or be successful only with them.

It is important because here something fundamental is happening however differently, however implicit, however covert, that needs to be traced, to be monitored. A new economy of the education of adults is now being shaped. And this raises new questions like the influence of the different patterns of »recurrence« to learning opportunities during the early stages of the adult life on the participation to adult education later on. Such patterns can only be discovered if we can retrace all these learning activities, know who they reach, how, and with which consequence on the individual educational biography.

2.2 Political questions

I would like to mention two political questions thus raised by this new economy of adult learning.

First the need to revise our notion of the role of the State and of the Education Ministries. A formal education system may be planned through a ministry, the real expanding and diversified world of learning cannot. In the new context of a Lifelong Education revisited, the role of formal education will have to be reviewed, taking into account the transversal role it will have to play in order to sustain the learning dimension cutting across the different interventions. The complex and dynamic interrelation between initial education and the various post-initial learning opportunities in the different national contexts requires new »organic« approaches for the »monitoring« of the whole of education and for the development of a synergy among all the educational and educative agents.

A second political question regards this international division of work as well as of education refered earlier. While the post-industrial societies debate the new patterns needed to fasten the emergence of knowledge intensive economies, the main financial international institutions are now imposing on developing countries a Structural Adjustment Program and debt repayments requirements that too often require the phasing out of public funds for adult literacy and continuing education.

2.3 Cultural questions

The current dynamics between the social demand for learning and the economy of responses raise also some cultural issues. I will mention one of them: the influence of actual adult education provision on the learning demand. The relations between the demand

and the responses are reciprocal. The educational responses may in return determine the demand itself.

An interesting example is adult education and aging. Of course the demographic trend toward aging societies contains a huge potential for an increase of the learning demand: it is a new and increasing public. However some of the responses that are given are so akin to »occupational therapy« and so based on a pathological and passive meaning of aging that they produce the contradictory effect of reinforcing the negative image of an aging population having no productive potential, no contribution to offer to society and no participation to and in development. Such educational responses are severely shrinking the social demand they overtly try to answer. In fact the educational responses always convey cultural meanings that influence back the demand, a dimension of adult education clearly understudied.

3. Conclusion

What all this means for international intellectual cooperation in the field of adult learning and of research on this issue? First, following the »silent explosion« of the social demand for adult learning and in order to facilitate international intellectual exchange, it will be necessary to develop bridging perspective to study the relations between the different adult education responses. Creative confrontation of theoretical perspectives is required. The semantic segmentations or exclusions need to be studied and reviewed. Cooperation should be developed crossing over boundaries between disciplines, between institutionalized and marginal providers of learning opportunities, in and between southern regions as well as between the South and the North.

Second there is a need to develop an open information base on the whole economy of adult learning and to disseminate the data.

Such a task, in a domain as diversified and changing as this one, cannot be undertaken by single institutions or networks. A huge international cooperation effort is needed to develop the basic information needed to understand the on-going developments in the different countries.

There is a lack of comparable data on the extent of the provision and participation in adult education and training in different countries. Adult education participation surveys need to be undertaken and complemented through different methodological approaches. But many other studies are required in order to monitor and understand the rapidly evolving situation, like for example the analysis of the expanded legislation environment of adult learning and of the changing policy contexts in sectors like environment, health and agriculture that can influence the adult learning demand.

From the different regions of the world, each of us need to be better informed about the current research trends and the innovations taken place in the domain of the education of adults in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Arab States, the Caribbean and Latin America.

UNESCO and the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) will join in this effort. A five-year plan of research on adult education, for example, has been adopted for UIE. But such contributions are minimal and clearly insufficient to grasp the full and differentiated meanings of the dynamics between the growing learning demand and the development of educational responses in the different countries of the world. Such a task can only be achieved through the many initiatives that are now taking place in so many institutions and networks in the world. An invisible college of research is developing, a multidisciplinary one, without rectors or central control, a non vertical one, in creative disorder. We, as one among many other members of this growing anarchic international faculty will play our small catalyst role helping this synergy to happen.

The booming learning demand in the adult population needs to be researched in its many dimensions and in the different regions, if this dynamics is ever to become a tool for development and quality of life for all. This can only be done through a large and cooperative adventure. One of the coming rendez-vous will be in 1997 at the Fifth International UNESCO Conference on adult education.

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Lene Buchert. Education and Training in the Third World. The Local Dimension. Ceso Paperback No. 18.

The editor of this book is the Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries (CESO). Its task is to contribute to the study of problems involved with education and development in the Third World. CESO also offers consulting services with respect to policy issues, filed projects and the evaluation of educational training programmes. A specialized library offers extensive information about education in the Third World. This book springs from a conference on **Education and Training in the Third World: the local dimension** which took place in Hornbaek, Denmark in October 1991.

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The following article was originally a working paper for a seminar of the German Foundation for International Development 1992 in Nairobi. The author describes an action-oriented form of adult learning. Joseph Müller is Head of the Nonformal Basic Education Section, German Foundation for International Development, Education, Science and Documentation Centre in Bonn.

Joseph Müller

The action training model and its educational foundations

1. How adults learn

The theories of lifelong education and of life-span development may have been the most important theoretical contributions to adult education in recent years. We now know that not only children can learn. Nobody is too old to learn. In a man's life-span there is no division between a period of learning and a period of application of what has been learned earlier. Learning and application are interwoven, both continue and both reinforce each other. However, the way adults learn is different from the way children learn. What does it mean to be an adult learner? What are the characteristics of an adult learner?

1.1. Who is an adult? The meaning of adulthood

Rogers distinguishes three main clusters of ideas within any view of adulthood:

- The idea of maturity, of full development, personal growth and expansion and utilization of all the individual's talents;
- the idea of a sense of perspective leading to sounder judgements about oneself and about others;
- the idea of autonomy, responsible decision making, voluntariness rather than involuntariness.

According to Rogers adult learners

- are adults by definition; but some are more adults than others; some are still searching in education for dependency, others for autonomy;
- are in a continuing process of growth, but they grow in different directions and at a different pace;
- bring with them a package of experience and values, but the degree of willingness to use this material to help the learning process differs;

- come to education with intentions and needs, some specific, some more general and related to the subject matter under discussion, and others unknown even to themselves;

- bring expectations about the learning process; they are all at different points in the spectrum between those who require to be taught everything and those who wish to find out everything for themselves; and they each have some consciousness of what they can and cannot do in the way of learning;

- already have their own set patterns of learning, which vary considerably one from the other.

1.2. Characterstics of adult learning

Education of children is compulsory, formal and standardized. Adult learning is voluntary and intentional. The aim of adult education is the independent self-directed learner. Adults tend to resist a learning process which is incongruent with their self-concept as autonomous individuals and does not correspond to their needs and interests.

Adult learning is learner-centered

What children learn in school should be useful to them — but later in life. Child learning is subject-centered. Adult learning is learner-centered. Adults focus on direct application. Given their daily obligations in job, profession, family and community they learn to cope with the pressures and problems of life they are facing. In consequence the adult educator's concern is not only and not even primarily the logical development of a subject matter but the needs and interests of the learners. »Andragogy (adult education) calls for program builders and teachers who are person-centered, who don't teach subject matter but rather help persons learn« (Knowles). However, the interests of adults are their needs as perceived by themselves. And these might not be their real needs. Or the solutions learners have in mind do not solve their problems. The adult educator often has to enter into a »needs negotiation« (Bhola) with learners when teaching new needs about boiled water or a balanced diet, about clean surroundings, preventive health practices or small families. In the dialectical process of needs negotiation the needs as felt by the learners and the needs as seen by the adult educators must be brought together to reach a consensus on the »real« needs. These real needs must correspond to the experience of adult learners. If an adult gets the impression that his experience is not being valued he feels rejected as a person. New learnings take on meaning as adults are able to relate them to their life experience. Experienced adult educators, therefore, build into the design of their learning experiences provision for the learners to plan and rehearse how they are going to apply their learnings in their day-to-day lives or duties and combine training with transfer and application. A workshop then really can become a workplace where educational materials are produced or evaluation studies are designed.

Adult learning is social learning

According to Knox's proficiency theory the learning needs for an adult arise from life situations and interpersonal communication. Social expectation motivates and empowers an adult to search for more knowledge, better proficiency and more suitable performance. Adult learning is based on experience, on the learners' own experience and on the experience of others. Learning settings of adults usually have a participatory and collaborative element. Adults prefer to meet as equals in small groups to explore issues and concerns and then to take common action as a result of dialogue and inter-learning by discourse. The group becomes the

»learning co-operative«. The group provides the opportunity for inter-learning. Within the group the teacher as well as the other group members play the role of facilitators. All group members become »co-agents« (Bhola) in learning.

The absence of formal accreditation or certification facilitates collaboration not only on a specific product or outcome but even in structuring and restructuring the learning process according to the needs and interests of the group. The learning process becomes as important as the learning outcome, and a balance between both is often difficult to maintain. How much freedom can actually be given to the adult learner in choice of content and method?

Adult learning is active learning

Adult learning is life-centered. It is learning by doing, by application and experience, and if need be by trial and error. Adults do not simply receive knowledge created by outsiders, but should examine their own reality themselves and make assertions about it. »Praxis« is the focus of effective adult learning and praxis means analysis and examination of reality in order to transform it. Adult learning is a continuous process of investigation and exploration followed by action grounded in this exploration, followed by reflection on this action, leading to further investigation and so on. The principle is testing not »banking« (P. Freire) of knowledge. Explorations of new ideas, skills and knowledge take place in the context of the learners' experience. In settings where skills are being learned, learners become acquainted with skills, apply these in real life settings, reflect with other learners on their experiences in these settings, redefine how these skills may be altered by context, re-apply these in other settings and so on. Adults interpret ideas, skills and knowledge through the medium of their life-experience and test them in real life settings. To make the learner self-directed is the purpose of adult education. But the self-directed learner is neither the one who can retrieve information or locate resources nor the one who emerges in group dynamics. The »inner-directed, self-operating learner« (R. Kidd) is the one who reflects critically on his own assumptions and is keen to find alternative and better solutions.

Adult learning means acquiring knowledge and competence

The learning process contributes largely to the success of learning. But learning is more than just the learning process. A participative learning process which fails to assist the learners in acquiring knowledge and competence is a failure. A participative learning process may take more time because it means active involvement of everybody, discussing all the pro's and con's, nevertheless it must lead to concrete results combining commitment with competence. Education is, as Brookfield points out a »transactional encounter«. That means that the sole responsibility for determining curricula or for selecting appropriate methods does not rest either with the educator or with the learner. If the first obtains, then we have an authoritarian style and a one-way transmission of knowledge and skills. If curricula, methods and evaluative criteria become predetermined solely by what learners say they want, then the »cafeteria approach« governs the educational process. Accepting the felt needs rationale without any further inquiry and needs negotiation means that the facilitator has abandoned responsibility for the learning process and the achievement of learning aims and objectives. Successful learning especially in workshop settings means to keep the balance between the learning process and the learning outcome so that the results justify the efforts and if they are not excellent they should be at least and always »good enough«.

2. Principles of participatory training

The training model presented in this handbook is based on participation. The principles of participatory training (Shrivastava and

Tandon explain these principles in greater detail) reflect how adults learn.

Participatory training is life-centered

What is learned must be applicable to real life situations. A workshop programme, therefore, must provide opportunity and assist adult learners to apply what has been learned to life situations and job requirements.

Participatory training is learner-centered

A workshop programme arises out of the needs of participants as articulated by them and negotiated with them. These »needs-negotiations« are necessary to keep the balance between the interests and needs as voiced by the learners and the state-of-the-art of the subject matter which learners have to become familiar with in order to acquire knowledge and competence and to get the feeling of success and achievement. However, participants should always maintain control of the training process and influence upon the methods used.

Participatory training is flexible

The teaching-learning process, while not losing track of the objectives and the subject matter, should always take into consideration the problems participants are facing and the learning progress they are making. The programme schedule must be open and leave room for repetition and the unforeseen. The final programme of a workshop evolves as the workshop goes on.

Participatory training is comprehensive with focus on awareness, as well as on knowledge and skills

This combined focus makes the choice of training methods complex. Awareness-raising is most aptly achieved through a dialogue between facilitator and learner. Knowledge-acquisition is most effectively done through lecture-discussions or readings based on handbooks and carefully selected reference material. Learning new skills or sharpening existing ones demands giving opportunity to practice within a workshop, be it in groups (with peer review) or individually under guidance by the facilitator.

Participatory training is learning through the experiences of learners

Learners come with their experiences and make new ones during the training process. It is important that learners (and resource persons) report on their experiences and share their experiences to find appropriate solutions. Thus a workshop becomes a »learning-cooperative«.

Participatory training is based on mutual respect

Learners always need a opportunity to first unlearn and then relearn. Both processes imply a deficiency and can be highly threatening to a person. In order to accept criticism learners must feel accepted as they are, must be encouraged to run risks and to accept support. The atmosphere in a workshop must be such that participants enjoy learning and feel comfortable and confident that, whatever happens in training, will not be used against them.

In participatory training trainers are a team of facilitators

In participatory training the trainers' behaviour and value system is as important as his professional knowledge and his teaching abilities. In workshop settings trainers should work as a team of facilitators, open to self-criticism, ready to support each other without becoming defensive against participants. The team of facilitators should be present throughout a workshop from its beginning to the end.

The venue is of great influence on the learning process

The venue should facilitate an uninterrupted learning process. It should be outside major towns, where participants, free from daily obligations, can exchange their experiences and cooperate in finding solutions. It will usually be a residential setting so that the learning co-operative becomes a captive audience.

Participatory training is based on feedback

Nobody is perfect! Feedback is necessary not only to adapt an ongoing workshop programme to the learning needs and progress of participants but also to learn from past workshop experiences in order to improve future programmes. This can be done by appropriate methods of internal evaluation be it formative during the workshop or summative at its end.

3. The Action Training Model (ATM).

A model to combine principles of adult education and participatory training with production

The Action Training Model is meant to train adult educators. It takes into consideration how adults learn and is based on the principles of participatory training.

3.1. The emergence of the model

The Action Training Model (ATM) grew out of the need to assist adult educators and development workers to cope with specific tasks for which they had no specific training, e.g. to do systematic evaluations, to produce reading materials for new readers coming out of literacy programmes or to produce distance education materials for untrained teachers or literacy workers. In contrast to the well known »all-talk seminars and no-work-workshops« the Action Training Model combines training with action and production. In a workshop setting participants get the necessary know-how to elaborate a concrete product, be it an evaluation report or a distance education unit — and they do it. They do the »real thing«, not just an assignment for the sake of training. The skills learned are acquired within the framework of production. As this is not feasible within a two weeks training setting of a workshop, the model combines collective training in a sequence of workshops with individual work under guidance at the place of work, or in the field.

This combination of inter-learning and cooperating in workshop settings on the one hand with individual work under guidance at the place or work on the other is the essence of the Action Training Model. It should be noted, that the Action Training Model does not imply to specifically »go to the field« as it is the case in operational seminars. The »field« is the learner's usual place of work and nothing else. To go to this field is not an extra (and artificial) activity. It is the learner's job.

The model makes some important assumptions about delivery and design of training (Bhola).

3.2. Assumptions about the delivery of training

The ATM is a model of in-service and block-release training for middle level technical personnel based on workshops of about two weeks duration combined with individual work under guidance on a concrete task be it an evaluation to be conducted or a distance education unit or a booklet for new readers to be written. The assumption here is that adults who are at work cannot spare much time for long-term training courses and that training for this group must be practical and tailor-made to assist them in fulfilling their daily duties. In a first workshop of about two to three weeks duration participants get a systematic introduction to the subject matter, e.g. evaluation or the writing of distance education materials and they elaborate an evaluation proposal or draft a distance education unit. After the first workshop they go back to their places of work and collect data in the field or develop instruments to test their units or booklets. They do this under guidance of experienced resource persons. A few months later they come for a second workshop, a »mid-term panel«, and present their data collections or tested distance education units. They get information on data organization and analysis and they organize and analyse their data or they get feedback from peers and resource persons on their test instruments and how to use them. After the mid-term panel participants write their evaluation reports or test their units. In a third workshop they present their evaluation reports for discussion or their distance education units for further review refinement and editing. Thus, participants can follow a training course of up to one year's duration without being absent from their places of work for more than five to six weeks. The time in-between the workshops is filled with work on a concrete project. However, to finalise the project means longterm commitment both by the participants themselves, by the group of resource persons who have to assist participants, and by the institutions participants come from who have to give all necessary support.

3.3. Assumptions in design of training

The training design is based on the principles of adult learning and participatory training.

The model combines training and action

All training takes place in the work context of participants. Each participant is working on a concrete task, an evaluation proposal, a unit of a distance education course or a booklet for new readers. He/she gets familiar with subject matter and related techniques by immediate application of what has been taught in lecture-discussions. All learning is active learning, is learning by doing.

The model is learner-centred

Participants are being confronted with problems they face in their daily work situations and they get guidance on how to solve some of these problems. Their experience becomes a learning tool, their needs the focus of the learning process. With whatever background and whatever intentions participants come — participants in workshops are not just there to be taught; they are the greatest resource in the learning co-operative.

Multiple contexts and settings for learning, including plenary discussions, individually guided instruction, practice sessions, and group work with peer review allow appropriate connections between learning task requirements, learning needs and learning styles of participants.

The model is based on systematic learning

Participants become familiar with the subject matter by going through it systematically and fulfilling a concrete task step by step. To facilitate this process special handbooks are developed by the facilitators. These handbooks guide the participants through all the necessary steps and give a complete overview on the subject matter including some theoretical background so that the actual workshop programme can make some selective choices in presentation of the subject matter by focussing on certain aspects and specific needs of participants.

The model is flexible and based on active involvement of all participants

All participants are actively involved in planning, executing and evaluating their own learning process. The first workshop begins with an analysis of needs and interests of participants followed by a process of »needs negotiation« to harmonize interests and needs as voiced by participants with the state-of-the-art of the subject matter and the requirements of a structured and systematic learning process. While the topics to be dealt with are defined to some extent by the state-of-the-art of the subject matter, the programme schedule is kept open and flexible. The schedule is being developed in a daily process of adaptation of what has to be learned to the progress of the learning process and difficulties participants face. The curriculum of each workshop is being »re-invented« in the actual teaching-learning process. This re-invention does not only validate curriculum choices but also aids participants to claim ownership of the programme. To re-invent the workshop programme is the task of the steering committee in which all faculty members and a number of delegates from the learners cooperate to review the programme of the day and to plan for the following day.

The model is based on social learning

The learning process does not only have a participatory element, it has a collaborative element as well. Participants work together in groups, they get assistance and feedback from the group. Resource persons who take part in the entire workshop (and don't turn up for specific sessions only) work as a team, they consult with each other, they practice team-teaching and they are »at the disposal of participants« whenever needed to assist them in completing their tasks. The social architecture of the workshop develops a cohesive community of learners, a »learning co-operative« who can stand the »pressure-cooker effect« of (sometimes) a fifty to sixty hours week of work on a specific task.

The model aims at successful learning

Participants get all possible assistance individually and as a group within and outside workshop settings to complete their tasks. A system of continuous feedback from participants has been developed through the steering committee, through reporting back sessions on group work in plenary, through individual guidance by resource persons, through critical review of the products of participants by peers and by resource persons. This feedback system combined with summative evaluation of each workshop is an essential element of continuous programme review and improvement.

It is not only a reliable test instrument of what each participant has learned and achieved. It contributes considerably to the success of the learning process.

The Action Training Model is applicable in a variety of settings in formal training within universities and specialized training institutions and in nonformal settings for staff development in education, health, business, government and the like. It is a challenge to the »all-talk seminars« and »no-work workshops«. For the learners as well as for the team of resource persons who have accepted this challenge it can be an experience of high satisfaction.

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The German Foundation for International Development will publish a Handbook on the Action Training Model in 1993. The handbook **»Join us in a participatory approach to training, learning & production«** will be available from:

German Foundation for International Development, att. Anja Frings, Hans Boeckler Straße 5, D-53225 Bonn, Germany.

The handbook is free of charge.

Jonathan Zeitlyn. Appropriate Media for Training and Development.
This handbook concerns ways of making communication effective and is especially written for those involved with development in the Third World.
For more information, please write to:
TOOL Publications, Sarphastistraat 650, 1018 AV Amsterdam,
The Netherlands.

Appropriate Technology Forum. No. 2 1993.
AT Forum is a joint Newsletter of the German AT Associaton, the Artefact Centre for Appropriate Technology at Glücksburg and the ARTES Institute at the University of Flensburg. It appears biannually and is distributed free of charge. This second issue puts special emphasis on the theme of »Education and Appropriate Technology«.
If you are interested, please write to:
Editorial Committee, AT-Forum, c/o ARTES, Bahnhofstraße 6,
24960 Glücksburg, Federal Republic of Germany.

Appropriate Technology. Innovations in Animal Health. Volume 19 / number 4 / March 1993.
This journal is published quarterly by »Intermediate Technology Publications«. Livestock forms the backbone of many farms in developing countries, but in a number of these countries, especially those which are changing rapidly, the problems of keeping livestock are also changing. In February 1993 the »Village Animal Health Care Workshop« which dealt with this problem, took place in Kenya; several articles in the journal were presented here.
If you are interested, please write to:
IT Publications Ltd., 103 - 105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH, United Kingdom.

»Homeless People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter«, a South African NGO, introduces here the concept (both in theory and practise) of an »Innovative community-based training« which would help to solve land and accomodation problems for the poor and homeless in South Africa. Joe Bolnick directs this organisation.

Joe Bolnick

A brief history of the genesis of the People's Dialogue housing training programme

People's Dialogue is a small support system for a network of informal settlements throughout the country. The informal settlements in the network have given birth to 31 housing savings groups (this is the present figure — six months after the first one was formed). They have also elected eight regional co-ordinators from amongst themselves.

There are three premises which are central to these conventional kinds of training.

1. Urban planning and housing development is a very complicated affair that is best handled by experts.
2. The skills, technologies and ideas from the mainstream are appropriate for solving the »problem of informal housing«.
3. The homeless poor need to participate in their own development, but their participation needs to be limited to collaboration in the plans that are produced by outside experts.

These externally propagated strategies are not providing solutions. The end result of these training programmes is the opposite of what they purport to be designed to achieve. They help to keep knowledge, power and resources out of the hands of the poor. The training systems ensure that knowledge production always happens elsewhere, that is outside of the community. This makes poor people dependent on the outside world, and on social classes that are inimical to their interests. They rely on professionals for a top down, often disempowering transfer of knowledge. The way out of the trap is to develop alternative, more appropriate systems of learning. This is the basis of the kind of experiential learning that is sketched in the pages that follow. Only by sharing and accumulating experiences in order to create sustainable alternatives will long-term aspirations for land and shelter stand a chance of being fulfilled.

These co-ordinators were elected in October 1992. Prior to that the programme was given direction and held accountable by a contact group of forty active individuals from informal settlements. The first decision taken by the regional coordinators was a healthily introspective one. There was consensus amongst the group that they lacked the skills to lead the people-driven housing movement which was beginning to emerge. They all felt that they needed »training« and they felt that the support system for the network was required to supply it. In one form or another the Regional Coordinators looked to the formal world for answers to the development needs of their communities. They expected to be provided with conventional kinds of housing or shelter training. After all, that is what the civics have been doing and the political parties, and of course that is the advice the NGOs give to communities. But at the very same time their experiences on the ground were beginning to show them that this conventional development training was one of the reasons why, with hardly a single exception, the development plans in South Africa's informal settlements are in such a mess.

Fortunately for the communities linked to the network People's Dialogue had the opportunity to enable them to explore a horizontal transfer of skills — from a homeless people's movement in India to the homeless people's network in South Africa. Exchange programmes between these two community groups have been taking place since March 1991. With each successive exchange programme the partnership has been boosted by the generated energy. People's Dialogue's community based partners in India, the National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan have been engaged in community shelter training programmes for over eight years. During that time thousands of grassroots people in India have undergone training.

It was decided to expose the regional coordinators to the process in India. Very clearly the purpose was never to duplicate what was happening in India, but to get an understanding of the concepts that informed their training programme. As far as the actual content was concerned, the intention was to explore the training process in India, extract elements of value, adapt them (where possible) to the South African context and then see if they could be systematised.

The Indian training programme is not a pearl that South African community people have transported to their own settlements. Rather it has become the grit in the oyster that is helping to form an indigenous pearl. What follows is a thumb-nail sketch of the community-based training programmes for which People's Dialogue is providing support.

People's Dialogue Community-based housing training programme

These action based learning exercises can be implemented in any order. The experienced »trainers« (community-based) assess each individual situation and make informed decisions regarding the order in which the steps are taken.

The over-riding skill that is required is flexibility. The training programme is nothing more than an over-lapping series of strategies for maximising people's participation in development. These programmes facilitate this by generating enough knowledge and solidarity in communities so that development practices always come from the experiences of the everyday life of the homeless poor.

Recorded below is a series of brief descriptions of some of the salient components of a standard action-based and community-based shelter training programme. It is by no means an exhaustive list, nor is it proposed that the processes described need to be followed to the letter. They are pathways not rules. The reason for their enunciation is not so much to explore the actual practice as it is to illustrate how the concept of innovative, people-driven, experience-based learning informs these practices and is informed by them in turn.

Identifying settlements that are ready to begin a training programme

Nobody knows how many informal settlements there are in South Africa. Nobody even knows how many informal settlements there are in major cities like Johannesburg or Durban. Even those who claim to be the political leaders of the inhabitants of these settlements are grossly uninformed when it comes to the informal settlements of this country.

A collective of community-based trainers is able to begin a process whereby this huge gap of knowledge is filled. Thus one of the central components of the housing training programme is to identify and count all informal settlements in the country. The People's Dialogue training team has already started this exercise.

It is not a static exercise which will generate statistics and nothing else. In the course of collecting this information the »training team« has begun to make contact with people from thousands of informal settlements. They are also getting to the point through this gathering of knowledge and automatic forging of alliances where they are able to engage government officials and NGO's on more equal terms.

As the information is generated so linkages are made. This is a significant step towards building an informal homeless people's federation.

By means of the settlement count, settlements which are more ready than most to be involved in the ongoing training programme begin to identify themselves or be identified by the »training team«. It is with people from these settlements that the training team takes the process further.

Linking with leaders

The entry point into new settlements is always via the leadership of the organisation which enjoys support within the »community«. The training team explains to the leaders what the training programme involves. There are many effective ways to do this. Here are some examples. If another settlement is involved in a training programme then a group of people from the new settlement, chosen by the representative leadership, can be invited to participate in this training. This kind of on-hands experience is always very valuable. Otherwise a group of leaders from this new settlement can be taken on an exchange to a settlement in the network/federation that has already completed a training programm. A third possibility is to invite the leaders of several new settlements who are interested in the network/federation to come together with the training team and work out a collective plan of action for their respective settlements.

Identifying community members to be trained

This is a process that goes on all the time. It keeps the federation alive. It strengthens it and deepens it.

The best structures in which to seek strong, committed people to train are the existing housing savings schemes (HSS). Women and men in these HSS have a significant and growing experience of housing finance, settlement networking and house modelling. At this moment in time they are the only recognised community-based organisations that are going all the way, in concrete and practical terms to develop people's direct initiatives and systems for capturing resources for shelter. Selecting prospective »trainees« from HSS maximises the chances that the training programme will be successful and that the people who will be trained will support and train others. As the training programme touches more and more settlements the chances will increase for the network/federation to be approached by groups that are not part of the network. In such cases it is possible that civics or other elected community leaders will select people to be trained. These people in turn will play a key part in setting up housing savings groups. To maximise the chances of success for such a development, at-

A »theoretical« profile of a training team and its relationship to the training programme

If one had to construct an »identikit« of a community-based training team it would look something like this: it would be made up of **community leaders from different informal settlements**. They will not be trained in the conventional sense, with diplomas and certificates to prove it. **Theirs will not be a text-book knowledge** but then, when they train other communities, it is not their job to train others to read and understand textbooks. The vast store of knowledge which they have acquired is shared with others in order to yield practical results. **This team of community-based leaders** should know each other well — even though they come from different settlements stretched across the country. They ought to have been involved in exchange programmes, having visited one another's settlements. Through these interactions **they ought to have pooled their experiences and their knowledge**. It is this collective wisdom that forms the structure and informs the content of the training programme.

This suggests that **these community-based shelter training programmes are grounded in the understanding that there are no definitive solutions** that can apply at any given moment to every single informal settlement in the country. Within the framework of this basic understanding that there are no formulae for the resolution of needs, general trends will nevertheless emerge. The members of the training team will have been an active part of the orgnisational processes within the federation that systematise these general trends into a recognisable but flexible training programme.

The members of the training team do not use their knowledge for their own advantage. Their role as trainers makes them servants of the community. There is no scope for personal power-seeking in the training team. **People holding office in local authority or political party structures or employed by NGOs or research organisations should not belong to a »training team«.** Their commitments, obligations and responsibilities could impair their judgement.

Members of the training team do not need to be specially trained. Nor do they need to be literate. They merely need to have been exposed to similar community-driven training programmes on at least one previous occasion, and to be actively supported by other comrades — within the team, their community organisation or the network/federation.

tempts should be made to familiarise these community leaders with the history and culture of the network/federation.

There are no fixed rules regarding the selection of »trainees«. Where there are no regulations there will be a tendency for people to replicate themselves, to select people whose styles, personality types and interests approximate their own. Since the training team is made up of committed leaders of the network/federation, all of whom have long histories in community action, they should be effective judges of the potential of others.

»Training« always takes place in the field. There is no theoretical, classroom work. People learn via direct experience, by being active participants in a community-based housing training programme. The only qualifications that are needed is to be homeless and poor and eager to take active steps, as part of a community, to change those conditions.

Shack counting

Once the community leadership (civic, residents association, church organisation etc.) are ready to do the training, a date is arranged with the training team on which to begin the programme. Normally the training begins with the physical counting and mapping of all houses and other structures in the settlement. The shack counting exercise always gets kicked off with a huge celebration. Here again a lot depends on the skills and imagination of the community-based training team. Here are some examples of what they can do to generate interest in the entire settlement:

- Arrange an exchange programme of other homeless communities to the settlement that is starting the training programme,

- help the community to organise and hold a concert,

- get community-based drama teams to put on a performance that sheds some light on the need for a training programme,

- invite dignitaries to attend the opening ceremony (they should be people who have influence in the sphere of land and shelter),

- invite the leaders of other settlements who might be interested in initiating their own training programmes.

If the opening celebrations are held in the evening, then the shack count begins the following morning. The training team prepares for the activities of the next day by completing a few practical tasks:

- A rough map of the settlement, drawn a few days before, is put on display,

- a series of photographs of the settlement are also displayed,

- the training team meets with the leadership of the community and explains the activities for the next day,

- the leadership and the training team decide how to divide the settlement into sections (either by zone or by block, or if they do not exist, then by means of prominent landmarks).

Everybody should be ready at the start of the day to begin the counting. One member of the »training team« is assigned to each section. They become the leaders of groups of people who will assist in counting all the structures in the sections. In the course of counting the shacks together with members of the »training team« these people receive a thorough experience-based training. People who are identified to be trained can include:

- People from the settlement that is hosting the training programme. These people will sustain the training programme and other shelter activities once the »training team« and other guests have departed;

- people from other settlements who have expressed interest in implementing experience-based training programmes in their settlements;

- trained members of the network/federation from other settlements;

- people in the broader society whose participation could benefit the community in its struggle for land and/or shelter.

Once the teams have been formed and assigned to their sections a standard settlement enumeration begins; except that the information gathering is done by homeless people themselves and is used to elevate their potential to impact decisively on housing development initiatives in their settlements. All the time that the enumeration is going on, members of each training and information gathering group engage the members of the community. These informal exchanges are the very soul of the process. Researchers can quantify the results of the enumeration until the cows come home, but this simple process of dialogue and exchange only occurs when the people from communities do the counting. The informal discussions that accompany community-driven enumerations comprise both an outstanding method of mobilisation and an exceptionally accurate way of identifying issues that people in the community regard as relevant. Community-driven enumerations, where they are backed up by a strong but loosely structured federation of informal settlements, achieve what professional enumerations are unable to do. They help to unplug the real feelings, frustrations and expectations of oppressed people. The way a squatter responds to the enquiries of a fellow squatter is very different and more to the point than the way that same squatter responds to the social scientist or researcher. This is especially so if squatters know that the information they divulge can be used by a people's housing movement to strengthen the position of the country's millions of homeless poor.

While the training groups talk to the people in the community, they share a few words about people driven housing, about a people's housing movement, about community controlled surveys, about housing savings schemes. That way the ground is prepared for the training steps that will follow.

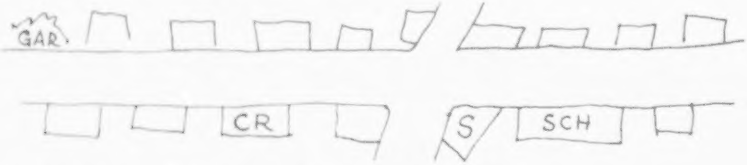
In tandem with the shack count and numbering, the training groups are drawing rough maps of the settlement.

Mapping

One of the biggest myths used to keep shack-dwellers dependent on mainstream specialists is that specialised skills are required to accomplish technical tasks. Members of the training team are equipped with the confidence and the knowledge to destroy these myths. They do so by enabling community members to accomplish technical tasks themselves.

A good example of this is mapping. As the groups go through the settlement numbering and counting shacks, shops, creches, churches and so on, they draw a simple one dimensional drawing of the streets and structures in the settlement. Key landmarks are also included, as well as drains, sewers, electric lights, rivers and so on.

A section of a map might look something like this:



Where s = shop cr = creche sch = school gar = garbage.

Once the shack counting and mapping have been concluded the maps of all the sections are combined into one by a community member who draws well. The end result is that the community members have produced their own physical map of the settlement in which they live: a concrete example as to how the attainment of knowledge through practice generates energy and power. Once people have **demarcated their settlement themselves** they can then go on to examine land ownership and related matters in terms of their own needs and experience.

Surveys

Although this training programme does not follow any set formula, in the normal course of its unfolding in the settlements a survey follows on the heels of a shack counting exercise. Once the information generated by the shack count has been reflected back to the community, via a mass meeting accompanied by the graphic display of all the information gathered, then a survey is started.

By the time the survey begins the curiosity of the community has been aroused. People are talking among themselves about all the activity. Many people are going to the members of the civic body asking them all sorts of questions. The »researchers« are, of course, the members of the training team — homeless people themselves. When they begin to return to knock on the doors that they numbered the previous day, the people who respond (normally women) will be ready to ask as many questions as they are requested to answer.

For at least half a day the members of the training team accompany the training groups, helping with the filling in of the questionnaires. The members of the »training team« step aside when they are confident that the trainees from the settlement which is undergoing the training are able and eager to complete the survey on their own. It will be the task of this newly trained team to continue with the survey until every family in the settlement has filled in a form. Of course the training team does not remain in the settlement until all the questionnaires have been completed. After a few days they are ready to return to their daily lives in informal settlements throughout South Africa. It is not unusual for the people who are being trained to signal to the training team, before the trainers volunteer to step aside, that they are ready to conduct the surveys on their own.

Although the »training team« returns home, its members continue to keep in touch with the new trainers in the settlement where the training has taken place — at least until the surveys have been completed. At that stage — which can be after several weeks — the »training team« puts the information together and then comes back to the settlement to give all the knowledge to the community. The new trainers from the settlement do this work together with the »training team«.

This collated data becomes the basis for future analysis and action for the people of the settlement. The survey and the analysis of the data that is yielded become powerful tools of the community organisation. By providing a realistic assessment of the capabilities and the weaknesses present in the community the analyzed data reduces the danger of undertaking unattainable or undesirable development activities.

Housing savings

Before the »training team« leaves the settlement a few other activities can be arranged. These activities add additional institutional dimensions to the action-based learning experience that is taking place. Perhaps the most critical activity that remains for the

»training team« to accomplish is to help the settlement establish a housing savings group.

The members of the »training team« are almost always members of existing housing savings groups (at the time of writing there are 31 such groups in SA). In some situations, especially as the programme advances, it will be possible to bring women from already existing housing savings groups to participate in the training.

The community leadership, the training team and the visiting housing savings groups use private discussions and public gatherings to call the community (with special emphasis on women) to attend a mass meeting in which housing savings will be discussed. The shack counting and the start of the survey will have generated much discussion on the land and shelter needs of the community. Without fail the discussions will endup focusing on matters of money. People will point out that they are homeless and landless because they cannot afford formal housing of any sort. The logical extension is to begin to think about harnessing resources so that formal housing becomes reachable. One arrangement that helps to harness resources is a housing savings group.

At the mass meeting the »training team« and the visiting housing savings group actually start the system of saving in the community that is being trained. People join up, deposit money and elect office bearers. In the months that follow members of other housing savings groups and the »training team« pay regular visits to the new group.

By actually starting a housing savings group the »training« process yields the vehicle that will (help to) drive a people's based housing movement in the community that has been »trained«.

Some additional thoughts on housing savings groups

The housing savings groups are the fulcrum, or the central energy point of the training process. They are the mechanisms that draw the grassroots directly into the development process, and at the same time they become ideal repositories for the knowledge that the experience-based training programmes manage to generate.

The housing savings groups perform two other vital functions. As the name indicates these groups are loosely structured organisations that enable poor homeless people to develop financial systems which they control and manage themselves. It is impossible for homeless poor people to get money for housing from the formal world, from banks and other financial or housing institutions. Housing savings groups enable poor homeless people to save money, which they can then use as leverage for getting financial support for their development plans.

Second these housing savings groups allow the savers to benefit directly from their own savings. When poor people save in banks or post offices their savings never entitle them to loans. They save their hard-earned cents so that the banks can lend that money to the wealthy and middle classes. In housing savings groups the savings of the people work for the people themselves. Members of these schemes can take loans for small business ventures or for crises in their families.

A crucial element of these savings schemes is the fact that the majority are women. This is important because it is women who are in charge of keeping the house, running household expenses, deciding where things are kept in the home and so on. Women are also less likely (but certainly not immune) to become involved in community power struggles. They are also more likely to be comfortable than men with the need of poor people to work collectively.

Housing savings groups are devised with maximum flexibility. They are systems designed to include the poorest of the poor. In other words they are designed in such a way that in theory not a single member of the settlement can be excluded.

A confident and competent »training team« ensures this from the outset by facilitating a process whereby the members of the community identify their needs and prioritise them. In almost every instance land and shelter will be amongst the identified needs. Housing savings groups are presented as powerful mechanisms to help address such needs. In nine cases out of ten it is mostly women who show interest in starting or joining housing savings groups.

Housing Savings Groups become a locus for the organisation of women from informal settlements around shelter needs. A federation of housing savings groups can become the driving force in a people's housing movement. Women are mobilised and given the space to build organisational structures around the central issues of housing and savings. Housing Savings Groups also can become loose community-based affiliations with the ability to enable the members to pressurise formal institutions such as banks, donors, NGO's, political leaders and governments to participate with them in creating institutional arrangements that will facilitate social change.

House models

The housing savings schemes immediately become the repositories for the financial surplus of poor communities, money that will be circulated and made to work within the community and within the network of housing savings groups. Simultaneously housing savings schemes can become the repositories of the communities' knowledge of themselves and their local socio-economic environments.

Poor settlements have vast stores of knowledge. The people of the communities are the only ones who could possibly have the experiential basis for determining their own hierarchy of needs. They are best equipped to create their own priorities. Housing savings groups in India and in South Africa, which in themselves are products of the knowledge/skill base in homeless settlements, have developed additional mechanisms in order to consolidate this existing knowledge base which is rooted in the informal settlements.

A most effective »tool« which the training team is able to pass on to the trainees and to the housing savings groups is the tool of house modelling. Together with the survey and mapping skills, house modelling helps to equip the communities with the necessary knowledge with which to more effectively determine and then control their housing development options.

Like everything else in the training, the house modelling exercise begins with a dream. People who are driven to change their lives must take their dreams for reality since they believe in the reality of their dreams. Members of the community that is hosting the training programme are encouraged by the »training team« to imagine the house they would like to live in, and to put that dream on paper. This expression of a desire is the starting point of a sustained system of concrete learning. By drawing the house of their dreams people begin to visualise possibilities — in terms of their abilities and their levels of affordability. These first crystalisations of people's aspirations are often deep but unclear. In the steps that follow aspirations are realigned by the participants themselves, by means of a process of criticism and exploration. To dream one's house becomes the first step towards the development of lucidity.

Invariably these dreams are extravagant. The houses of people's imaginings are usually too elaborate and costly for their meagre earnings or resources. Once the drawings have been done, the people come together in groups in order to explain the homes that they have drawn — to give details about the structure. This group dialogue is crucial to the process. It brings people together and gives them the chance to adjust their dreams in response to insights and practicalities. This exercise is repeated and elaborated right up to the day the community is ready to start its own housing development. After the »training team« departs, the women in the housing savings groups often keep the house modelling exercises going. Together with the broad community leadership they accumulate the knowledge that is derived from the experience.

Group dialogue is crucial to the house modelling exercise. Not only does it constantly bring people from the housing savings group together it helps them develop practical insights regarding building technologies, materials, regulations, land ownership and so on.

The house modelling process takes the group on a learning experience punctuated by different house modelling activities. Each practical step of the house modelling exercise is followed by reflections and evaluations between the different groups involved in the exercise. As an example a house modelling process in a community might eventually look something like this:

- **Individual members of the settlement draw their dream house.**

- People get together to discuss and analyze the drawing.

- **People form groups and the groups make cardboard model houses based on the discussion.**

- People get together to discuss and evaluate the model houses (these last two steps can be repeated several times).

- **A house modelling competition is held in the community.**
- People get together to decide on the most appropriate model(s).
- **The chosen design(s) are built to scale.**
- People get together to discuss these results (if there are modifications that are proposed the exercise is repeated).
- **People go out to cost the building materials for their model house.**
- People get together to determine the affordability of the model house (the model is further refined to suit people's financial levels).
- **A life size model house is built to scale in the community, using cloth or paper as material.**
- People get together to officially open the model house and see what it looks like.

Concluding remarks

Several other features of the People's Dialogue shelter training programme have been generally systematised by means of action and a shared reflection on achievements and failings. They include:

- methods of identifying land and land ownership,
- creating strategic alliances,
- assessing the local, national and international socio-political context,
- exploring appropriate building technologies.

These and other features have not been omitted entirely from this narrative. They are interwoven into its very fabric, but they have not been given focused attention because the purpose of this text has been to draw attention to the **crucial assumptions or concepts that inform the practice of people-based shelter training and are informed in turn by it**. As important as these generalised strategies are proving to be in terms of mobilising people around their shelter needs and in terms of the critical recovery of the people's skills and aspirations, they are important only in so far as they succeed in simultaneously providing homeless people with an understanding of their material condition and equipping them with the capacity to act to transform those conditions to their advantage. The examples that have been described in this text (it is hoped) have sufficiently explained what it is that innovative experiential learning is supposed to achieve.

Adult Literacy Teaching in Ghana
In a recent isssue of our journal, L.K.T. Dorvlo wrote an article about his experiences with »Adapting the Freirean approach and technique«. Here now is a whole book on his work. M. Dorvlo is a staff member of the Institute of Adult Education, University of Legon in Ghana.
If you are interested in contacting him, please write to him care of:
Institute of Adult Education, P.O. Box 53, HO, Volta Region, Ghana.

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Christopher Colclough. Educating all the Children. Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South.
Only about three-quarters of eligible children attend primary schools in developing countries and many schools offer education of a very poor quality. This book explores why such high levels of under-enrolment persist, and how the trend could be reversed.
It is available from:
Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, United Kingdom.

ZED Books on the Environment and Development. New Titles 1992-1993.
This catalogue gives information about new and backlist titles relating to environmental concerns.
If you are interested, please write to:
Zed Books, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9BU, United Kingdom.

International Directory on the Young Child and the Family Environment. First Edition 1991.
This publication is edited by the Young Child and the Family Environment Project of UNESCO. Its aim is to safeguard and promote the development of children at an age that is crucial for their physical, mental and emotional development and decisive for their learning abilities. The present directory is a selection of 670 institutes whose activities significantly promote improvement in the situation of children. It is hoped that the information gathered will help to facilitate contacts among institutions working in this field and convince them of the immense convergence of interests among those who care for families and children in both North and South.
Copies of the directory can be obtained from:
YCF International Directory, YCF Project, UNESCO, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

Vietnam has had considerable success in the area of literacy, particularly where women and girls are concerned. Based on a short historical survey, Nguyen Duc Van describes which path Vietnam has taken, especially the extent to which the specific life situation of women and girls has and is still being taken into consideration. Nguyen Duc Van is the Assistant Director of the Centre for Educational Cultural Exchange and Development (CECED) in Hanoi, Vietnam.

Nguyen Duc Van

Eradication of illiteracy of women and girls in Vietnam

1. The national script of Vietnam is composed of a Romanized alphabet that was created in 1620 to 1648 by several European missionaries, most of them Portuguese, with the effective collaboration of many Vietnamese scholars.

During the period when Vietnam was under French colonization, the French language was in vogue among the Vietnamese intellectuals at the expense of the development of the Vietnamese tongue. Thanks to the patriotism of many intellectuals then, the popularization of Vietnamese as the national script was launched as early as the start of the 20th century, especially in 1938. However, the eradication of illiteracy had never become a State policy until the achievement of national independence. On 8 September 1945, the National Government proclaimed its Decree on the Eradication of Illiteracy.

In February 1978 after 30 years of continued and peristent efforts, the Vietnamese Government held a Festival for Literacy Achievements. As a result, more than 13 million people attained literacy by the standards of each state. Since then, Vietnam has been a nation with a high literacy rate. And in her course of development, Vietnam has done away with, to a large extent but not completely, inequality in education, among nationalities and between the regions. For a long time, the total of schoolgirls equalled the total of schoolboys.

2. By virtue of the prolonged wars, economic underdevelopment and several errors, Vietnamese education is now faced with a number of tremendous challenges, including the problems of illiteracy and inequality between schoolboys and girls.

The principal problems and constraints in the eradication of illiteracy among Vietnamese women and girls may be summarised as follows:

- According to the 1989 statistics, the total number of illiterates in the whole country was 8.3 million, 70% of them women and girls; hence women's literacy has become one of the major objectives of Vietnam during this decade.

- Illiterate women are concentrated mainly in the rural areas: of the 5,610,000 women illiterates, 4,976,000 live in the country, making up 88.7%, therefore literacy education for farming women is quite an important task.

The illiteracy rate among ethnic women is very high; 95% among the H'mong women, 85% among the Dzao females... (in Vietnam there are 53 ethnic groups besides the King major people, totalling 8 million, that is 13% of the total population, 9 of them having their own scripts). The Vietnamese Government encourages the ethnic peoples to become literate in their own language or in the national tongue, or in both. The ethnic communities in Vietnam often live close to each other, hence the preferable use of the national language in literacy.

- After nearly 50 years of educational development, Vietnam has so far still failed to achieved universalization of primary education nationwide. In recent years the rate of dropouts has increased hence the low efficiency of primary education. In many rural areas, especially in the mountains, most of the girls cannot afford to go to school because of household work... or they stop learning after completing the early years of primary education, and then quickly lapse into illiteracy. For instance, in the school year 1991 - 1992 in the District of Thuan Chau of Son La province in the mountains, the total enrolment for the first form stood at 270 (quite a small number), of these 24 girls; therefore some classes have no girls at all. This is a fundamental reason for the growing number of illiterates among adults in many regions.

3. What Vietnam has undertaken to eradicate illiteracy among women.

3.1 State policy on literacy:

In the implementation of the open-door policy to shift the economy to the state-regulated market-mechanism, the Vietnamese Government has seen education and training as a state policy of prime importance, a driving force and a fundamental condition for the achievement of socio-economic goals. The National Assembly and the Government attach great importance to literacy and set, as an objective, the year 2000 for the eradication of illiteracy among the working people of the 15 - 35 age-groups and the reduction of the number of illiterates in the other age brackets.

To achieve this goal, the Prime Minister issued directives on literacy at the start of 1990. Under these directives, the National Commission for Literacy and Universalization of Primary Education was founded; its function is to coordinate the activities of the various governmental institutions and the non-governmental organizations in Vietnam active in the domain of literacy, namely the Ministry of Education and Training, Ministry of Finance, State Planning Committee, Vietnam Women's Union, Farmers' Association, Youth Union... also since 1990, the Vietnamese Government has spent nearly 20 billion Dong annually to create favourable conditions for achieving the literacy index of 200,000 people in the 15 - 35 age bracket.

3.2 Specific measures to perform the above tasks:

a. Improvement of the curricula and syllabuses to meet women's needs. From 1945 to 1948, Vietnam made a mistake in defining the norms for literacy (i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic). In setting the standards too low, equivalent to the first or the second years of primary education, the neo-literate easily lapsed back into illiteracy. At present, the norms of literacy for adults are equivalent to the 3rd year of primary education with 3 levels and 3 corresponding sets of textbooks.

   With the assistance of UNESCO, Bangkok, we have introduced into the contents of the books functional knowledge concerning the improvement of the quality of life of the learners and the requirements of the economic development of the locality. This includes instruction on family life, household economy and incomes, the fundamentals of farming techniques, health protection, population and environment, civic education. Thanks to this the number of women and girls learners has increased dramatically. Apart from the 3 sets of textbooks prepared by the Ministry of Education and Training, some localities have produced supplementary materials in accordance with their local conditions: namely, Vinhphu, Gia Lai, Kontum, HoChiMinh city, Hanoi... In quite a few localities, literacy has been conducted together with job-training of women and girls with the aim of enabling them to increase their incomes.

However, the introduction of functional knowledge into the literacy textbooks constitutes only an initial step. To increase its efficiency, a project for the literacy of women and girls is being implemented in Vietnam.

b. Along with the improvement of the contents of the literacy textbooks, the amelioration of the methods of teaching the national language has always been a great concern of scholars and teachers. As has been mentioned above, the national language of Vietnam is transcribed in a Romanized alphabet. This is a great advantage for literacy in the country. The different methods of teaching the national language in Vietnam in various periods may be cited here: In the early French domination period, when the national language »Vietnamese« was officially taught at primary schools, there was Hoang Xuan Han's innovation in 1938 (he was a well known scholar, now living in France). Then came the innovation by the People's Educational Service Teachers in the »Eradication of Illiteracy« drive (1956 - 1958) with some improved textbooks used for teaching the national language.

At present, to shorten the duration of learning, we are applying the method of connecting the teaching of the national language with the composing of the language. An experimental textbook has been prepared under this method with the aim to help the learner to accomplish level 1 after completing 18 - 20 sessions. If this experiment proves to be a success, it will be a great help in the literacy education of women and girls.

c. Diversification of the forms of women's and girls' learning:

Like many other countries, Vietnamese women, particularly those in the rural areas, can afford very little time for learning and relaxation. That is why the literacy of women and girls in the country should be made very flexible, in accordance with the conditions of each region, each village, and each hamlet. They may learn at home or in a group or in the classroom. During the war years, a lot of »3 responsibilities« schools were opened for women. Today, in the disadvantaged areas, boarding schools are maintained to enrol girls and young women for literacy, with the aim of making them good community managers. Each mountain or island district has built such a school for women, where the learners are provided with a Government scholarship. Two fairly special forms of education of women in Vietnam are:

»Charitable classes«: they are meant for both boys and girls, but particularly for girls who suffer from hardship, who cannot afford to go to school or relapse into illiteracy. In the Dong Ha district, Quang Tri province, alone, 2,000 children, most of them girls, went to these »charitable classes« in 1991 - 1992.

»Special classes« for prostitutes and drug-addicts are formed in many localities such as »the Vocational and Educational School« in Ba Ria province, South Vietnam; »The Protective

Centre II« in Yen Bai Commune, Ba Vi district, North Vietnam etc... where the learners are made literate, provided with job training and medical treatment so that they may be integrated again with their families and their communities.

After the prolonged and gruelling wars, a large number of such women and girls require this help and assistance, but only part of their needs have been met. A few overseas organizations are supporting this undertaking.

d. Development of post-literacy follow-up curricula:

Follow-up education in Vietnam is meant chiefly for the farmers to maintain and develop the achievements of literacy, prevent relapse into illiteracy and create favourable conditions for continuing education. In the years to come, Vietnam will drastically switch from literacy to follow-up and continuing education for women. The follow-up curricula are associated with the program for building up a new countryside with the aim of stabilizing and developing the rural economy. The post-literacy follow-up curriculum is composed of 2 levels; with 48 sessions for level 1. Upon accomplishing level 1, the learner acquires an instruction equivalent to standard 4 of primary education. The time allowance for level 2 is also 48 sessions. Upon fulfilling level 2, the learner may have the equivalent of standard 5 primary education. The follow-up syllabuses also include functional instruction as in literacy but of a higher standard. The preparation of materials for these curricula and syllabuses is now under way and is scheduled to be completed in 1993.

e. Training and re-training of literacy and follow-up education teachers:

Functional contents, approach of participation and methods of teaching the national language based on the achievement of linguistics are a novelty for literacy teachers. Therefore great attention has been paid to training and re-training literacy teachers. In many of the Teachers' Training Secondary schools of the mountainous provinces, courses have been formed for training local ethnic people as teachers of primary education of children and of literacy of adults. Training courses for teachers in literacy syllabuses and methods have been held for administrators from provincial authorities for education and training. After that the participants will become trainers for training teachers. Literacy teachers include primary school teachers, mostly women, pensioners, secondary school boys and girls and college students. In the border areas, border guards also take an active part in the eradication of illiteracy. With the financial support of UNESCO, the package of »training materials for literacy personnel« has been translated into Vietnamese published and distributed to teachers.

f. Promotion of the universalization of primary education:

Along with adult literacy, the universalization of primary education for children has been pushed forward. These are twin tasks which are found to be inter-related and interacting. If the rate of the children's primary education enrolment is low, adult literacy will certainly not be achieved. In 1991, the National Assembly of Vietnam promulgated the Law on the Universalization of Primary Education. According to this Law, all Vietnamese children are entitled to go to school and complete primary education. However, due to untold difficulties and constraints, this law can only be implemented step by step. The objective set for 1995 is that 70% of the 6 - 11 age group go to school, the rate of dropouts is to be reduced to less than 10% (now 30% in many localities). There are 3 curricula for the universalization of primary education:

- The 165-week curriculum for areas with advantages in learning,
- the 100-week curriculum for disadvantaged children,
- the 120-week curriculum for ethnic children.

In addition, another curriculum has been formulated for disabled children.

g. Promotion of the coordination between governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations to create additional sources for literacy:

From our own experience, literacy will be achieved only when it becomes a mass movement, a common task of the entire society. Women's Union and Farmers' Association have made fruitful coordination and cooperation with the educational sector in the eradication of illiteracy. At the village level, the officers of the two said organizations are activists in promotional activities and mobilizing women and children to go to classes. Their work is carried out on a purely voluntary basis.

Thanks to these measures, we have overfulfilled the literacy index of 200,000 people per year since 1990.

Conclusion

The Vietnamese people are very proud of their women. In the different periods of their history, the Vietnamese women have always made remarkable contributions to the country. At the same time, they have a great thirst and zeal for education. Now, in the face of the requirements of »Doi moi« (renovation), they are making greater efforts to shape their own destiny as masters of the land and build the community. Literacy in Vietnam is bound to provide them with such capacities.

In this great undertaking, apart from our own efforts, we have always received active support from friends on the five Continents, DVV among them. It is our hope that by the years 2000 our goal shall be accomplished.

Hans Nirschl / Georg Sticker. Small Money. Loan Programmes for Small Business Entrepreneurs. A Practical Manual.
This manual concerns small money as the target group of development cooperation requires as a rule very small loans to facilitate and widen opportunities for regular income. Access to banks and lending institutes is not granted to the poor as they do not have a stabile income and are unable to offer surety. It thus lies close at hand to create a suitable lending medium. This manual, published by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungshilfe e.V. Köln, is a classified collection of the most important questions and points which initiators of loan programmes have to consider before beginning such a venture.
If you are interested please write to:
Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungshilfe e.V., Theodor-Hürth-Straße 2 - 6, D-50679 Köln.

This article calls for new efforts in adult education by stimulating job generation. The author wants to draw attention to employment-related training using adult education methodology, which is called »High Impact Training«. It promotes a strategy and methodology for facilitating effective workforce education.

G.W. Gamerdinger

Expanding training delivery for job generation

Jon Ondinga's metal working business has provided a comfortable income for himself and his family. Located just outside Nairobi, his customers never seemed to have enough of the pots, pans and repair services that Jon provides. However, after four years the customer base remains the same and the business just isn't growing.

> Jon first heard of the new housing development in passing from the local chief. Later that week the rumor was confirmed when the building contractor asked Jon if he could design and manufacture the security bars for three hundred housing units. Jon was overjoyed and couldn't wait to tell his family at the end of the day.
>
> That night, while reflecting on this new opportunity he also confronted some real concerns. The first had to do with his lack of welding experience. It was three years since he had learned to weld and he had never had the opportunity to use the newly acquired skill. Designing security frames should not be difficult but he needed some help. He knew the work standard had to be of the highest quality. Although Jon understood exactly what he wanted to learn — the problem was where would he find the help he needed to upgrade his skills? All the training sites he knew of only offered two year courses and they were aimed at training youth.

Employment promotion and job creation are the social action charged terms of the 90's. In this regard, access to capital and training form two of the major concerns voiced by most small business owners. Yet, too many government agencies and international organizations addressing these issues are responding as if it is 1962, especially in the area of training for adults.

Jon Ondinga is typical of many small business operators who seek to upgrade their skills but find difficulty in identifying support.

Adult learners like Jon often find it difficult gaining access to customized short-term training to upgrade their skills. Training that can be tailored to their specific requirement as adult learners and business people is generally non-existent.

What does an adult learner do if he/she wishes specific up-grade training?

In Europe and the United States the trend is to attend an adult education evening or weekend course. Elsewhere in the world one might search for a highly-skilled professional or small private training institution to access individualized training.

Although each of these choices provides services to adult learners, too often the courses

- offer training that is based on revised long-term programs tailored for youth,
- are taught by educators that have no training in adult education methodology,
- offer non-flexible training schedules,
- do not reflect training that meets workplace standards,
- focus training only on subject specific content, the results of which may fail to provide a base of knowledge necessary in addressing the next level of job complexity.

In addition, most training focuses too narrowly on technical application without the learner mastering ways to generate their own knowledge base to hone today's skills for the jobs of tomorrow.

The need for developing and strengthening the kinds of skills that facilitate self-learning need to be considered as a base for all training delivery models. No matter how good the product or service provided, skills that facilitate self-learning provide the only way the learner will be able to continually respond to the changing needs of the market.

Self-directed learning, better known as »inter skills« form the basics for the higher level competencies required by today's workforce. John Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene in »Reinventing the Corporation« refer to these educational basics as learning how to *Think*, learning how to *Learn* and learning how to *Create*. For some reason it seems as if employment training has focused almost exclusively on the »outer level« hard technical skills without linking with the »inner skill basics«. The mandate for these basics are confirmed daily in newspaper articles, labour market surveys and discussion with employers and customers. Transplanting these workplace mandates into training delivery models is the next step.

The reasons for doing so are hard to argue against. The United Nations Human Development Report for 1993 estimates the need for one billion jobs over the next ten years — just to keep pace with the current job growth. In the United States small business operators provided 4 million new jobs between 1988 - 90. The International Labour Organization sees the potential of micro- and small businesses in the developing world as unlimited in terms of employment potential.

Creating job markets that lead to higher levels of human development rather than as an end in themselves will require different approaches to adult-centred training. Such approaches should be grounded on adult learning theory and deliverable through on-site training.

Towards a different approach: high impact training

One approach that has directed its attention to adult learners who desire customized training has been developed through a process called High Impact Training (H.I.T.).

High Impact Training promotes a strategy and methodology for facilitating effective workforce education. Drawing from approaches based on human development potential and adult learning theory, the strategy acknowledges the long overdue need for training to facilitate human potential rather than just focusing on the subject content of the day.

Why H.I.T. delivery?

Developed to meet the challenge of upgrading the workplace skills of workers, the strategy is efficient, individually targeted and learner responsible. Developed to address training needs in a variety of environments the approach was influenced by a worldwide rapidly changing technological base, a shrinking formal sector in third world countries, and a desire by many people to »seek lifetime employability as opposed to lifetime employment«. It is from these challenges that a spark of change generated the High Impact Training delivery methodology — it is from this spark that the training methodology continues to evolve.

Part of this involvement has been the recognition of the need to challenge the currently held 17th Century thinking that continues to negatively affect workforce education. Until the values separating academic and manual related activitites are removed, workplace training will remain socially devalued. High Impact Training Delivery Methods have attempted to bring about such a change of attitude through activities in North America and Africa.

Selective application of the approach has been used in Eastern & Southern Africa and the United States. In Africa the approach has been geared towards employment promotion activities in the informal sector among micro-entrepreneurs in Kenya, Tanzania/Zanzibar, Swaziland, Somalia, Zambia and Namibia. In the United States the attention has been toward industrial application and instructor training.

As a methodology, the H.I.T. deliverer and user will find it pragmatic. It reflects the results of lessons learned by educators, scientists, artisans, governments and international organizations. The approach communicates experiences in connection with informational content.

The four major assumptions on which H.I.T. delivery is based reflect adult learning theory (A.L.T.) formulated in the writings of Malcolm Knowles — an approach distinctly different from traditional educational models for youth. While the approach refers to adults, there are many youth who because of life's responsibilities would benefit from this approach as well. The following assumptions about mature learners form the foundation on which High Impact Training is based.

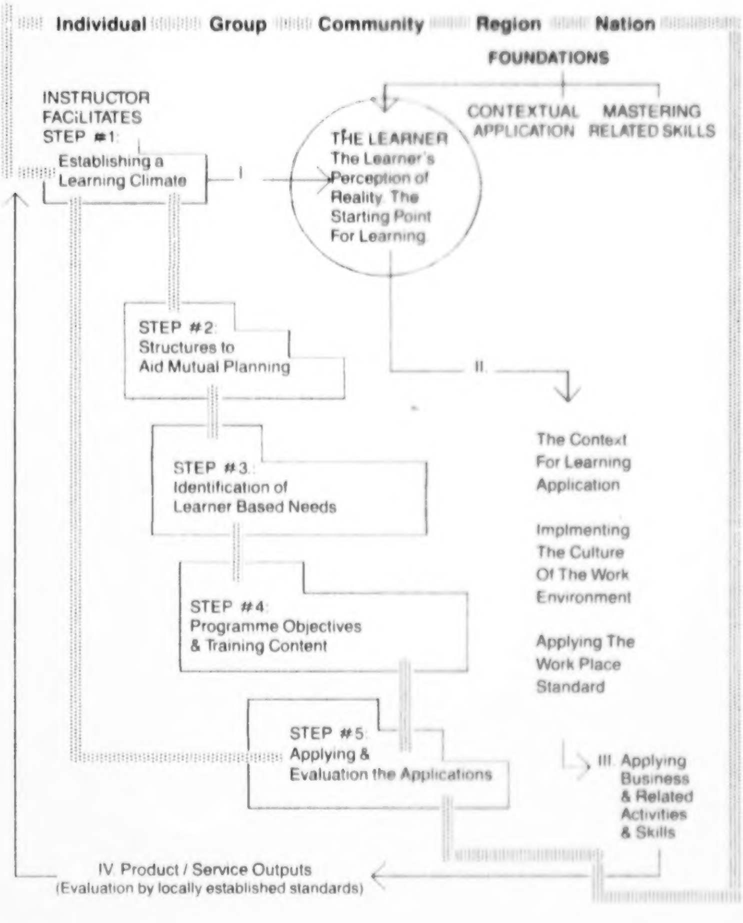
Mature learners

- strive to become self-reliant independent learners,
- draw on the personal experiences gained throughout life to help filter and nourish new learning activities,
- demonstrate a readiness to learn in relationship to their expanding social responsibility,
- have an orientation to learning that is focused towards immediate application of what is to be mastered.

Building upon these four assumptions, High Impact Training stresses the individual's human resources as the starting point for any learning project. To the instructor who acts as a facilitator in this process the above four points serve as a guideline in all elements of training implementation. They provide the working structures that transcend subject content.

Jon Ondinga provides an example of the type of frustration experienced by many small business owners wishing to expand their

Steps to high impact training delivery


Individual
Group
Community
Region
Nation
FOUNDATIONS
CONTEXTUAL APPLICATION
MASTERING RELATED SKILLS
INSTRUCTOR FACILITATES STEP #1:
Establishing a Learning Climate
I
THE LEARNER The Learner's Perception of Reality. The Starting Point For Learning
STEP #2: Structures to Aid Mutual Planning
II.
The Context For Learning Application
Implmenting The Culture Of The Work Environment
Applying The Work Place Standard
STEP #3: Identification of Learner Based Needs
STEP #4: Programme Objectives & Training Content
STEP #5: Applying & Evaluation the Applications
III. Applying Business & Related Activities & Skills
IV. Product / Service Outputs (Evaluation by locally established standards)

Note: Shaded lines denote cyclical linkages

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skills. Drawing on the H.I.T. model Jon would find a system of training that places him at the centre of learning, requiring his commitment and involvement in each step of training. In addition the training would seek to reflect the importance of Jon's community, his family responsibilities and the business environment where he works.

The following diagram highlights these elements while identifying the learner as the starting and ending point for instruction. Assisting in the learning project would be the facilitator, trained in the H.I.T. methodology and responsible for the diagram's designated five steps of instructional support.

Conclusions

The challenges of today's workplace requires approaches to training that seek to develop an individual's potential as well as subject content. Whatever the type of training intervention, it must be relevant, flexible, results oriented and above all owned by the learner. Whether the workplace setting be a factory floor, training classroom, one person business enterprise or a hotel staff training centre, the focus of instruction must produce in the learner a new way of doing things. As decision makers and learners the choice of the kind of training we want to support and encourage is ours to share and take responsibility for. The step in supporting these actions may seem small but in such actions job generation is expanded by investing in the greatest resource of all — people.

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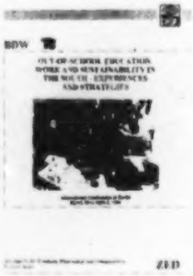

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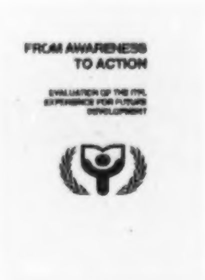

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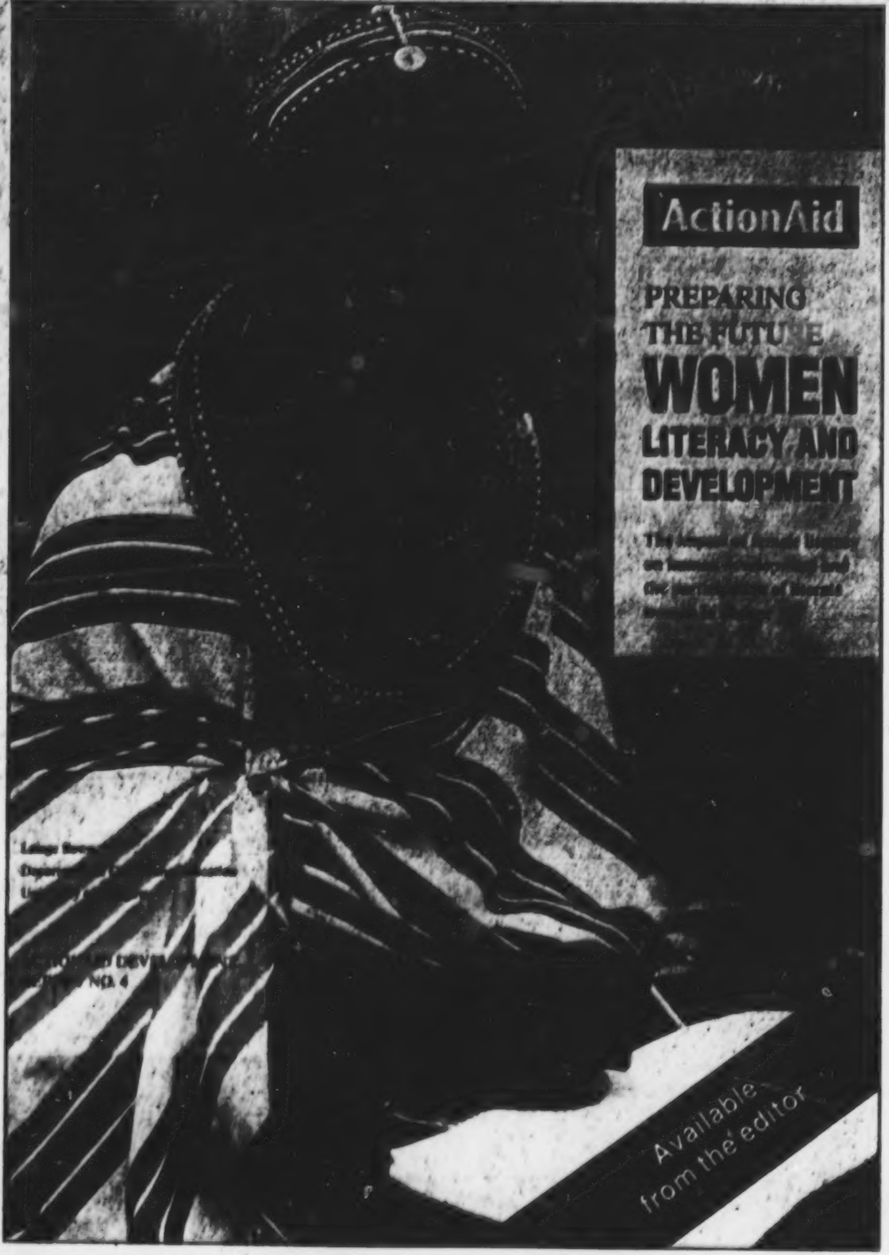
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INSTITUTO DE LA COOPERACIÓN INTERNACIONAL DE LA ASOCIACION ALEMANA PARA EDUCACIÓN DE ADULTOS
ИНСТИТУТ ПО МЕЖДУНАРОДНОМУ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВУ НЕМЕЦКОЙ АССОЦИАЦИИ НАРОДНЫХ УНИВЕРСИТЕТОВ

INSTITUT FÜR INTERNATIONALE ZUSAMMENARBEIT
DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKSHOCHSCHUL-VERBANDES e.V.

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Dear colleagues and partners,
Dear readers of our journal,

we should like to inform you on two decisions which have been taken and implemented recently:

1. The Annual Assembly of the German Adult Education Association, attended by all representatives of the regional associations of the Volkshochschulen (local adult education centres), decided to give us a new name. From now on we are the **Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ / DVV).**

2. Our Institute has moved to new offices which we are using together with the General Secretariat of DVV from 1st December 1993 onwards. Our new address and related communication data are given above.

We should like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for the good cooperation which we experienced throughout the year and should like to combine this with seasonal greetings and our best wishes for a successful and more peaceful year!

With kind regards,

Dr. Heribert Hinzen

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